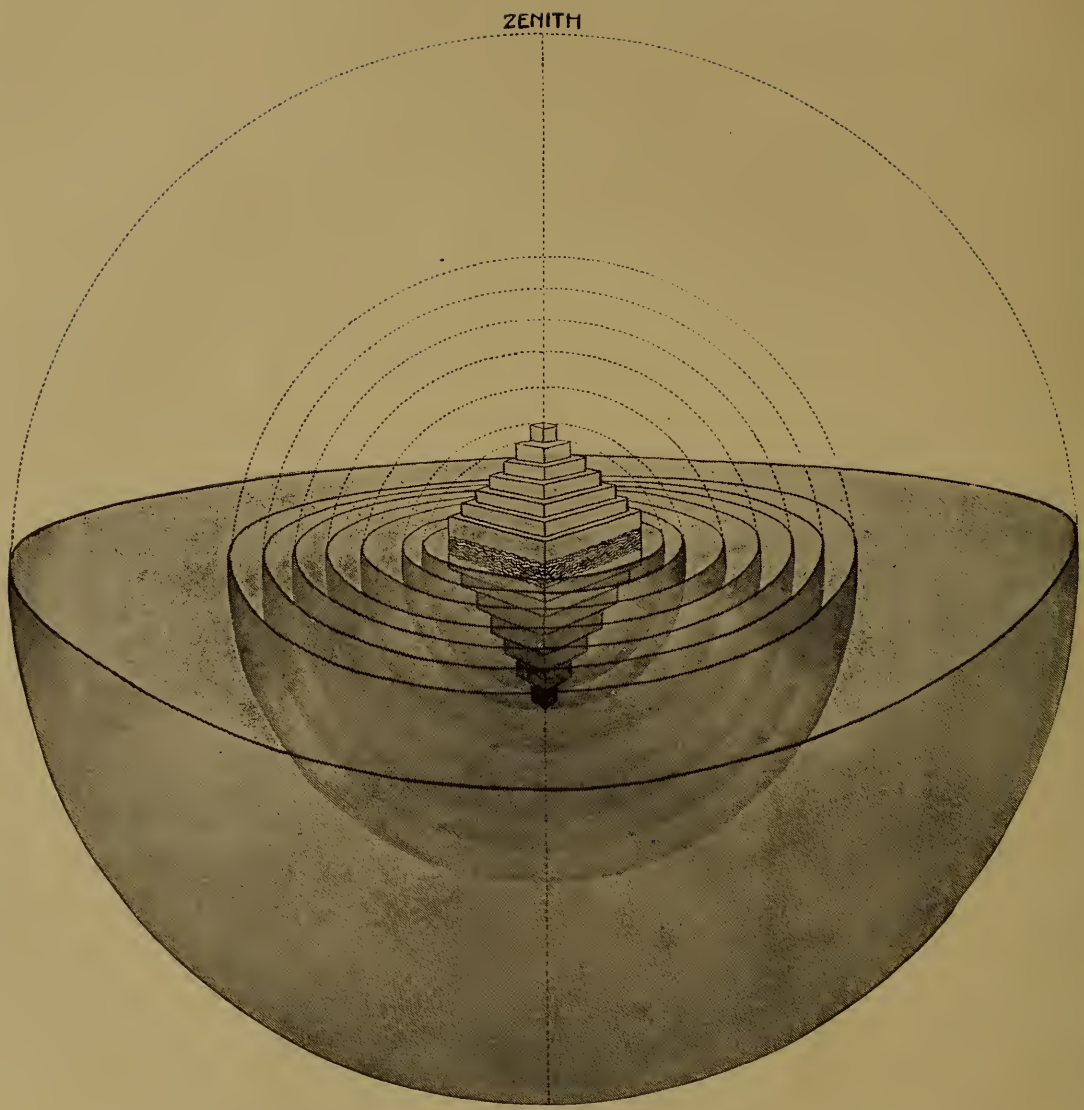
THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD AND THE WORLD-RELIGION

WILLIAM · FAIRFIELD · WARREN



THE BABYLONIAN UNIVERSE

See Appendix

The upright central line is the axis of the heavens and earth. The two seven-staged pyramids represent the earth, the upper being the abode of living men, the under one the abode of the dead. The separating waters are the four seas. The seven inner homocentric globes are respectively the domains and special abodes of Sin, Shamash, Nabu, Ishtar, Nergal, Marduk, and Ninib, each being a "world-ruler" in his own planetary sphere. The outermost of the spheres, that of Anu and Ea, is the heaven of the fixed stars. The axis from center to zenith marks "the Way of Anu"; the axis from center to nadir "the Way of Ea."—See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1908, pp. 977ff. Also "The Earliest Cosmologies," by W. F. Warren, pp. 33–40.

The Religions of the World and the World-Religion

AN OUTLINE FOR PERSONAL AND CLASS USE

BY

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO MY

BELOVED FORMER PUPILS

NOW LABORING

ON EVERY CONTINENT

TO TRANSFIGURE

THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

INTO THE

ONE PERFECTED AND ALL-REGNANT

WORLD-RELIGION

CONTENTS

PREFACE

In view of the unmanageable mass of material to be dealt with, every teacher whose task it is to present the nature and the chief historic forms of religion, has felt the need of printed helps which, without hampering him in the free shaping of his own lectures or lecture courses, will prove time-saving and helpful when placed in the hands of his students. It is hoped and believed that the present volume will be found such a help.

In any case, it is the fruit of long experience. In the year 1873, in Boston University, was established the first chair ever instituted in an American university for instruction in religions and religion in the widest possible sense. At the outset its occupant saw that, whatever the scope, and whatever the method of the work about to be attempted, the student would need for his orientation, first of all, a general introduction to the total field. It was also plain that, without waiting to complete this preliminary survey, the teacher could profitably start the student on helpful courses of reading, and even on independent investigations of historic questions in many fields. Moreover, as the experiment went on, it was quickly seen that, with classes often exceeding fifty in number, it was desirable to conduct the students along several lines of research at once; for the reason that no library could be expected to provide the referred-to books in such numbers that half a hundred men could simultaneously work on the same questions. In a short time a group of annually modified courses grew up, some of them adapted for use in alternate years, yet all so elastic that in every field of importance the latest discoveries and the latest discussions

could each season receive appropriate attention. It is hardly possible to show the nature, and methods, and interrelations of these courses more briefly than in the following announcement of the work of the chair as given several years past in the Year Book of the University:

The following courses are integral parts of one comprehensive scheme of instruction extending through the year. The first occupies some eight weeks of the autumn, the second and third extend through the winter, the fourth to the end of the year. The work follows an unpublished printed outline, which is supplemented by lectures, discussions, assigned readings, reports, and class essays.

1. General Introduction to the Scientific Study of the Religious Phenomena of the World.

This course treats of the subject-matter of the study in general; the question of the admissibility of the scientific method in this field; the three distinct procedures and the thence resulting groups of sciences; the sources, proximate and remote; the personal equipment required; the chief auxiliary sciences; the attractiveness, utility, and perils of the study.

2. The Religious Phenomena of the World Historically Considered. History of Religions and of Religion.

In this course the aim is to make the student acquainted with the best methods and means for thorough study of the history of the important particular religions, the history of features or movements common to a class of religions, and, finally, the history of matters common to all religions, or the history of religion universally considered.

3. The Religious Phenomena of the World Systematically Considered. Descriptive Exposition of Religions and of Religion.

Here the aim is to acquaint the student with the best means and methods for ascertaining and descriptively setting forth in logical connection the facts presented by any particular religion, or by the features or movements that may be common to any class of religions, or by the total present state of religion universally considered.

4. The Philosophy of Religion. The Religious Phenomena of the World Philosophically Considered.

An introduction treats of the aim and possibility of a philosophy of religion; the relation of the philosophy of religion to other branches of philosophy; its relation to the history and to the systematic exposition of religions; the history, literature, and present state of the philosophy of religion; the different fundamental standpoints and postulates of different philosophies of religion; and the plan and method demanded by the present state of religious knowledge and present currents of thought and life. After this follows in three "divisions" an outline of the total field.

Parallel to these four courses runs a continuous study, at once historic, systematic, and philosophic, of the more important religions of the past and present, such as the Chaldæo-Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Chinese, and the chief of the Indo-European. This is conducted by means of assigned questions upon recommended readings, and by essays prepared by each student on assigned themes. The four courses are thus vitally and logically unified, and they can be taken only in their due sequence and as one whole.

My habit has been to have the printed matter contained in the following pages bound up with about fifty blank leaves of writing paper for the use of the student. The first thirty of the blank pages have been reserved for "Notes and Queries Illustrative of the Text." These notes and queries have been revised and varied every year, the constant aim being to draw attention to the latest and best material. Then have followed, under the heading, "Collateral Reading and Study," a printed list of the books, essays, and portions of books particularly recommended for immediate use; also a larger list of "Books to be Consulted," and one of "Periodicals to be Consulted." The next four pages have been filled with more than threescore of carefully formulated "Specimen Topics for Class Papers," the fundamental purpose of which has been, not to provide themes for actual use by the student, but to illustrate the wealth of material available and the varieties of method possible in the preparation of papers of this kind.

Next have followed what I have called "Specimen Studies." These have consisted partly of dictated expositions, but more largely of dictated questions to be investigated and answered by the student. The space left after each question has indicated the fullness or brevity desired in the answer. The first two of these specimen studies have been devoted to two specially important historic forms of ethnic religion, and the method pursued has been commended to the student for use in his more private study of the other religions. One study has been given to the religious statistics of the world, and usually one to the curious conceptions of the heavens, earths, and underworlds found in the various systems of religious teaching. The philosophy of religion universally and comparatively considered, including the psychology of religion, has furnished other themes in embarrassing abundance.

The "Fortnightly Reports," provided for and rendered convenient by the blanks inserted at the end of the book, have served an excellent purpose in keeping the instructor in close touch with the problems and the progress of each student. Moreover, the reports, taken in connection with the written work in the books of the class, have afforded important aid in determining at the end of the year the standing individually earned by the several class members.

To illustrate the variety of procedure and of style which may be employed by a teacher using this Outline, I include in an Appendix three selections from material used the past year, to wit: an exposition of the "Nature and Naturalness of Religion," a lecture on "A Quest of the Perfect Religion," and a questionnaire on "Ancient Conceptions of the Universe."

The standpoint of the present work is frankly that of Christian theism. The author can conceive of none higher, deeper, or more scientific. This being the case, it would be an unworthy

affectation were he to profess to write without personal prepossessions or personal convictions.

Former students have repeatedly urged me to prepare a more comprehensive work, one which should embody the facts, principles, inductions, and bibliographic helps needed by the average collegiate or theological student in this important field. I have steadily declined on the ground that no man could do justice to the ideal of such a work, and, further, that, even if anyone could, a very few months would render the bibliographic portions of the treatise obsolete, so rapid is the progress in this department of study. The most that has seemed to me to be attainable at the present time is a comprehensive outline, like the one here attempted, one which collegiate and theological professors charged with the duty of giving instruction in Theism, or Comparative Religion, or the Philosophy of Religion, can use as a time-saving device in explaining to neophytes the genesis and scope of the branch of instruction engaging their immediate attention, and especially its proper place in the one organism which includes and integrates all as yet defined and elaborated sciences relating to religion.

In closing this preface I may mention one further hope which I have ventured to indulge. In connection with our State universities, agricultural colleges, professional and military academies, and even with the educational department of many Young Men's Christian Associations, hundreds of students annually unite in volunteer classes and clubs for the study of missionary and other literature of a religious character. Often embarrassment is experienced in finding for these students a textbook adapted to take them forward and upward from the more elementary and fragmentary courses at first pursued, and especially one adapted to give them a "mountain-top outlook" over all the provinces of religious study. It will greatly gratify the present writer if experiment shall prove that a season spent upon this

Outline, supplemented by readings in Principal Grant's little book on "The Religions of the World," gives to classes of this kind a comprehensiveness of vision hitherto lacking, and the truer insight which comes from breadth and accuracy of survey. The average student volunteer for missionary service could hardly fail to find in such a course many a needed correction of inherited misconceptions touching the non-Christian world, and touching its searchings after the Perfect Religion.

W. F. W.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

The Subject-Matter of the Study

The world is full of phenomena which men call religious. They are partly subjective and partly objective. They include personal beliefs, emotions, acts; social customs, institutions, rites. They are at least as old as recorded history, as universal as the sense of moral obligation. Of all elements of human experience they are the deepest and the highest, the most interesting, the most sacred. As such they claim the studious attention of all thoughtful persons, whether they hold to one religion, or to another, or to none.

To define religious phenomena more narrowly we must define religion. This in its highest sense is the normal bearing of men in and toward God, the ground of all finite existence. In a wider sense it includes all actual or historic endeavors after such a bearing, however far short of the ideal they may have come. It is in this wider sense that the term must ordinarily be used in the present course. Accordingly, the phenomena of religion must be understood to include all manifestations of man's religious nature, however high and however low. Wherever there is an attempted personal bearing over against what is believed to be divine, there some of the phenomena of religion will be found.

Surveying more closely the religious phenomena of the world as thus defined, we shall quickly discover that they are not unrelated and connectionless, a mere chaos of isolated facts, unorganized and unorganizable. On the contrary, they tend to group,

and do group themselves into distinct systems of religious belief and life. So far as these are systems of belief merely, they constitute what may be called theoretical or speculative systems; so far, on the other hand, as they are systems of tribal, or national, or voluntarily associated life, they may be styled historic or concrete.

The chief of the former or speculative class are Monotheism, Dualism, Polytheism, Atheism, and Pantheism.

The chief of the historic or concrete systems now existing in the world are:

I. The religions of the barbaric tribes.

II. The religions of peoples that are emerging from an obsolete civilization; such as the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Tibetans, Burmese, and Siamese. Here are found Confucianism, Shintoism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, the last named in its various national and sectarian forms.

III. That rightly named, though as yet far from perfectly actualized, World-Religion, which, beginning with man's beginning, and unfolding as the world-compassing divine purposes successively unfold, reaches its first culmination and interpretation in the theanthropic person, teachings, and world-redeeming work of Jesus Christ. This is the religion of the most highly civilized peoples of the globe. Modern Judaism is simply the survival of an outgrown form of it; Islamism, an abnormal reversionary variation due to inadequate instruction and leadership at the time when the gospel first reached Arabia.

The question, Whence all these religions, and the successive forms through which they have passed? deserves attention. The problem is a profound one, for the forces by whose action and interaction particular religious systems are produced, maintained, and perpetually modified are among the most subtile and complex known to human investigation.

Five fundamental facts, however, go far toward explaining in a general way the origin and the successive modifications of all particular religions.

First. Men universally, and it would seem instinctively, manifest a religious activity of some kind.

Second. Under the partly conscious, partly unconscious influence of reason, this religious activity ever tends to come into some degree of conformity with a strictly consistent life-theory and world-theory of some sort—it may be monotheistic, dualistic, polytheistic, pantheistic, or even atheistic. Hence arise speculative or abstract religious systems corresponding to these various conceptions of man and of the universe.

Third. Like other universal activities, the religious is affected by social influences. Of necessity it enters into the social life of bodies of men, constitutes a factor in the development of that life, conditions in great measure its quality, and is in turn conditioned by it. Hence originate concrete or historic systems of religion, reflecting and in some measure determining the genius of a particular people or of a particular religious society.

Fourth. The interrelation between the life and the religion of a man, or of an aggregate of men, is so intricate and vital that the religion cannot be changed without changing the life; nor, on the other hand, can the life be changed without changing the religion. Hence, all profound changes in the pursuits, tastes, or states of culture of a people are preceded, accompanied, or followed by noteworthy modifications, if not real transformations, of religious belief and life.

Fifth. The theistic world-view cannot maintain itself, or even complete itself, without postulating on the part of the World-Author and World-Administrator a self-revealing and self-communicating activity, world-wide and world-old, like that historically exemplified in the World-Religion. In the view of every true theist, therefore, *this divine activity is the most fundamental*

and significant factor in every religion, as manifest in the decay and fall of systems as in their rise and growth. Man's search after God is but the consequence of God's antecedent and incessant quest of man.

In concluding this preliminary glance at the subject-matter of our study, it is well to remind ourselves of the immense number and variety of facts and principles included therein. They are found not in one department of human life merely, but in all. Illustrations of the power and influence of religion in the domestic sphere could be drawn from the history of every people. So, also, from social and civil life; from the realm of education; from the domain of art; from the field of literature; and from the great world of popular customs. With such matters volumes upon volumes could be filled. Traverse whatever department of thought and action we will, we encounter the manifest and multiform phenomena of religion. Whatever religion itself may be—something natural or supernatural, a dream or a reality, a lunacy or a sanity—its universal presence and power in humanity and in humanity's history compel attention and demand investigation according to the strictest and most thorough methods of scientific study.

CHAPTER II

The Admissibility of the Scientific Treatment of the Religious Phenomena of the World

The practicability and propriety of investigating and setting forth the religious phenomena of the world in accordance with what is called the scientific method would at first thought seem to be as much beyond question as the like procedure in the case of any other phenomena of a mental, social, or ethical character. But since the admissibility of the application of the scientific

method to religion has been repeatedly and earnestly challenged, and this from very different points of view, it becomes necessary here at the threshold of the study to examine and test the objections urged. But, first, what is meant by the term, "the scientific method"?

As here used it designates and includes:

First. That procedure by which the mind carefully, critically, and repeatedly observes a group of phenomena, and so comes to know their exact character and normal order of succession.

Second. That procedure by which the mind reaches verifiable or otherwise rationally satisfactory conclusions touching the cause or causes of said phenomena, the conditions under which, and the laws according to which, these causes act.

Third. That procedure by which the mind reaches verifiable or otherwise rationally satisfactory conclusions touching the connections and correlations of these phenomena with others, and of their causes with other causes, and the true purpose and significance of said correlations.

It has often been said that the scientific method has no presuppositions. How untrue is this declaration the most superficial glance at any adequate definition of it suffices to show. Even in the hands of a materialist the scientific method rests upon at least three immense postulates: *first,* the absolute validity of the normal processes of human intelligence; *second,* the unvarying constancy of natural law; *third,* the rationality of the universe of being and of its workings as a whole. Deprive him of any one of these fundamental assumptions and at once any and every employment of the scientific method becomes impossible.

Such being the nature and the presuppositions of this method in all its applications, it is evident that objections to its application to religion might antecedently be expected from several parties:

First. From all those who question the validity of human knowl-

edge in general; in other words, the skeptical school of philosophy properly so called (Pyrrhonists).

Second. From those who, admitting the validity of all knowledge acquired by sense-perception, question or deny the possibility of any valid knowledge of the supersensuous.

Third. From all those who, admitting the possibility of a valid knowledge of supersensuous objects and realities in the sphere of the finite—as, for example, in human consciousness—question or deny the possibility of any valid knowledge of that unconditional presupposition, ground, and unity demanded by the finite for its own explanation.

To all of the above classes of objectors it is proper and sufficient to say that their quarrel is with the scientific method itself, or with its first assumption, not with the application of it to religious phenomena as such.

But beyond the above-mentioned objectors stand two other classes of persons who question or deny the admissibility of a scientific treatment of religion.

The first do this on the ground that in its essential nature religion "transcends knowledge." It is an experience which in strictest literalness passeth all understanding. In its full and normal actualization it so fills and dominates the whole consciousness of its subject that the observant and critical and ratiocinative activities of the mind are necessarily and entirely excluded. The moment the soul attempts the scientific explanation of its religious experiences those experiences are already of necessity at an end, and there is nothing left for observation. The most consistent and thoroughgoing representatives of this view maintain that the idea of God is innate, that in the intuitional faculties we possess an organ for immediate and conscious fellowship with God, and that the exercise of reason, using this term as a designation of the discursive faculty, instead of helping us toward a knowledge of God and the true life in him, only hinders and distracts.

The second class hold that normal religion necessarily presupposes a supernatural communication of the mind and will of Him who is the true object of religious thought and worship; in other words, an authoritative didactic revelation from God. They affirm that no study of the religious phenomena of the world, or of the phenomena of nature, could ever give us information as to God's nature, or character, or purposes concerning us, or as to our duties toward him. To supply this lack of light he has made and duly authenticated a plain revelation upon all these subjects; and possessing this, every attempt on our part to seek religious knowledge apart from it, or to adjust its teachings to those of fallible human reason, or even to support its doctrines by deductions from religions which it disowns and condemns, is at once an impertinence and a folly. To these persons the only legitimate use of reason in religion is reverently and unquestioningly to accept the *prima facie* teaching of the authoritative Didactic Revelation.

To both classes it might be replied that, granting their respective tenets, or either one of them, we have already therein a most important and fundamental contribution to a philosophy of religion, and that every philosophy of religion necessarily presupposes and rests upon a scientific study of the phenomena of religion. Indeed, without such a study, and a logical use of the results of such a study, neither the mystic can show the transcendence of religion in its relation to knowledge, nor the revelationist the existence and exclusive claims of his revelation. The characteristic view of each is, therefore, inconsistent with itself and self-destructive.

Again, to both of these parties it may be replied, that they misapprehend and misrepresent the scientific method and its assumptions. Both treat the question as if in the application of this method to the phenomena of religion there was no place for the exercise of any faculty other than the logical understanding.

Especially does the mystic forget that that transcendent consciousness of divine communion which he so exalts is itself a mode of knowing as truly as of feeling, and, in fact, according to his own principles, the highest, most immediate, and perfect of all modes. In like manner the stickler for revelation forgets that no object or being is capable of being known save as it reveals or self-manifests itself to the cognizing subject; so that this necessity for self-manifestation is no more predicable of God than it is of man, or of those objects of which natural science treats. Both, therefore, misapprehend or ignore one or more of the primary postulates of the scientific method itself.

Finally, it may be remarked that both parties mistake the true force and significance of the very considerations which they urge against the application of the scientific method to religious phenomena. These considerations, instead of producing in us a despair of attaining true conceptions of religion and of its psychological and social laws and relations, ought only to remind us of the transcendent excellence and compass of that knowledge to whose acquisition we are summoned, and of the encouragement we ought to find in the essentially self-manifestative character of its divine Object. If beyond this they remind us of the disproportion of our present powers to such high tasks as those here contemplated, we may well reassure ourselves with the thought that all human science has its bounds and limitations, and that in the field of religious investigation, if anywhere, human infirmity may hope for divine guidance and help toward the truth.

CHAPTER III

The Three Procedures and the Resulting Groups of Sciences

In the scientific treatment of the religious phenomena of the world the three essential modes of procedure are: *first,* the Historic; *second,* the Systematic; and *third,* the Philosophic.

Whoever pursues the first undertakes to set forth the genetic or chronological order of these phenomena in the origin and development of particular religious systems and groups, or in the history of religion universally considered. Whoever pursues the second undertakes to set forth religious phenomena in their logical relations as constituent elements of systems more or less inclusive. Whoever pursues the third undertakes from a careful study of the facts of religion and of its history to ascertain and to set forth the essential nature of religion, its origin, its psychological and other presuppositions, the laws of its individual and social development, its subjective and objective validity.

The man who adopts the historic procedure may limit himself to single religions; or he may trace comparatively or otherwise the rise and history of developments common to a group of religions; or, finally, he may seek to include the whole field. In the first case he elaborates histories of single religions; in the second, comparative or other histories of wider religious movements or of peculiarities of such movements; in the third, a universal history of religion.

In like manner the man who adopts the systematic procedure may undertake to deal with the phenomena presented by a single religious system; or with those pertaining to a class of religions; or, finally, with those which are common to all. In the first case

he gives us the phenomenology of a particular religion; in the second, that of a chosen group; in the third, that of religion universally considered. This term "phenomenology," signifying the definition, classification, and scientific presentation of the data found by the investigator in any selected field, is peculiarly fitted for use in this connection.

All sciences, therefore, which relate to the phenomena of religion may be classified as follows:

I. The Historic Group.
   1. Histories of particular Religions.
   2. Histories, comparative or other, of wider religious movements, or of special features common to a class of religions.
   3. The Universal History of Religion, or the History of Religion universally considered.

II. The Systematic Group.
   1. The Phenomenology of particular Religions.
   2. The Phenomenology of a chosen group of Religions, as, for example, the Indo-Germanic.
   3. The Phenomenology of Religion universally considered.

III. The Philosophical Group.
   1. The Philosophy of the Object of Religion.
   2. The Philosophy of the Subject of Religion.
   3. The Philosophy of the past, present, and future Interrelations of the Subject and Object of Religion.

From the foregoing conspectus, it is evident that the term "the Science of Religion" can no longer be used without great vagueness and ambiguity. Once investigators thought to construct a "Science of Life," but before they had completed a preliminary survey of the data they found they had built up the whole hierarchy of what are now called the biological sciences. So half a

thousand years ago there was a body of systematized facts and truths that might well enough have been styled "the Science of Christianity"; since that time, however, the progress of scholarship has substituted for that one unitary presentation about a score of recognized theological sciences, each highly organized and reasonably comprehensive. In like manner the so-called Science of Religion is fast giving place, not merely to a group of new religious sciences, but even to a group made up of subgroups, as just shown.

The term "the Science of Religion," as used since its introduction some years ago, has never been quite free from ambiguity. Sometimes it has sharply excluded almost everything pertaining to the philosophy of religion, while in other cases it has been used as wholly inclusive of that department of the study. German writers have done no better. *Religionswissenschaft* (the Science of Religion) and *Religionsphilosophie* (the Philosophy of Religion) have been alternately differentiated and alternately interchanged, until no reader feels the least assurance of the meaning in a given case until he examines the context. Even *Religionsgeschichte* (the History of Religion) is so vaguely used that the translator of De la Saussaye's Manual of the History of Religion gives as the English equivalent, "Science of Religion." Neither title well fits the contents of the book, but, as between the two, that chosen by the author would seem the more appropriate. Following such examples, Professor Menzies not only uses the term "History of Religion" as synonymous with "Science of Religion," but even seems to defend such a confusing usage. ("History of Religion," London and New York, 1895, pp. 2, 3.)

The above grouping of the new sciences now rapidly coming to recognition further shows the infelicitous character of another term often applied to this field of study; to wit, "Comparative Religion," or, worse yet, "Comparative Religions." This originated by contraction from the phrase, "the Comparative Study of Religions." Louis Henry Jordan, author of our most important treatise bearing the name, admits the infelicity of the designation, but adopts it as the best now attainable (vol. i, pp. 24-28). As used by him it covers but a limited portion of the general field. The science he so ably represents he explicitly distinguishes from "The History of Religions" on the one hand, and from "The Philosophy of Religion" on the other; holding that the former should precede, and

the latter follow it (pp. 9-12). His defined field for "Comparative Religion" is, therefore, within that covered by "The Systematic Group" in our classification above. On pp. 68-71, however, he seems to claim for it lines of investigation to which the historian of particular religions would appear to possess a prior claim.

CHAPTER IV

Sources for the Scientific Study of the Religious Phenomena of the World

The sources from which the student of religions chiefly draws his information may be divided into two general classes:

I. The Proximate.

II. The Remoter.

The former consists mainly of the treatises which authors more or less competent have written in elucidation of the different religions and of their history. Of the latter, the following are more important:

1. The epigraphical and monumental.
2. The hagiographical, or that found in the sacred books of different religions.
3. The legendary and mythological.
4. The incidental or collateral.

In many cases several or all of these sources are available. Thus, for example, if we wish to investigate the Egyptian conception of a future life, we have (1) monumental inscriptions and mural decorations which illustrate it. We have (2) in the Funereal Ritual, or so-called Book of the Dead, an extremely valuable hagiographical source of information. Then (3) there are important myths and legends to be examined; and (4) as

incidental or collateral sources, the statements of early Greek travelers who visited the country, etc.

On the other hand, in many cases we are shut up to a single source, and often to one of the least definite and trustworthy of all. Thus, for example, if our problem were to ascertain what views of the future life were held by the ancient Massagetæ, we should be restricted to the fourth variety of remoter sources, if indeed we could find any whatsoever.

All these sources must be used with the utmost care if we would not be led astray. Where more than one is available, the yield of each should be supplemented, corrected, or confirmed, as the case may be, by the yield of each of the others. In this task, unwearying patience, rare historic insight, and the utmost breadth of scholarship are exigently demanded.

Especially difficult is the utilizing of the mythological sources; for while some myths may suggest historic facts in forms not too poetical to be beyond trustworthy interpretation, these constitute but the smallest fraction of the mass which must be studied. In this mass are innumerable myths of mere spontaneous story-telling; those of an imaginative etymology; those of a fanciful natural philosophy and natural history; those of a more or less conscious didactic aim; those of a distinctly conscious affectation of archaic ideas and modes of expression. To detect the exact character of each, or even its exact value or its valuelessness to the student of religions, is one of the most arduous if not the most hopeless of tasks.

Both of the above-named general classes of sources are constantly becoming richer and more copious. The progress of archæological exploration in ancient seats of civilization, the advance of general and special ethnography, the constantly increasing attention to Oriental and other literatures and to folklore, are steadily enlarging and otherwise improving each variety of the remoter sources; while living writers, availing themselves

of this new knowledge, are producing more and more trustworthy treatises entitled to rank as enlargements and improvements of those sources of our study which we have styled the proximate.

CHAPTER V

Personal Equipment for the Study of Religions

In order that a student of the world's religions may be qualified to use with any freedom and thoroughness even those sources which in the last chapter we styled proximate, it is indispensable that he have a good working knowledge of at least five languages: the Greek, Latin, German, French, and English. The literatures of all these languages should be readily accessible for each and every investigation he may have occasion to make.

For the full utilizing of the remoter sources no human knowledge is superfluous. The requisites here are so vast that no one man can dream of acquiring them all. In some of these investigations the key to a right solution of the problem is as likely as not to be found only in some quite out-of-the-way field of knowledge, such as ancient heraldry, astrology, alchemy, metrology. Lenormant made his rare knowledge and skill in numismatics of service to the study of religion. In the study of ancient mythologies, a knowledge of seals, intaglios, and cameos is of great importance; in fine, the full employment of our sources calls for the patient coöperation of vast numbers of specialists in every department of learning. Even with this coöperation, the time can never come when we can be confident that the monuments, and traditions, and languages of antiquity have no new secret to yield up to skillful investigation.

If these remarks be true it is plain that there can be no exact enumeration of the particular sciences which are, or should be, preliminary to the study of religions.

CHAPTER VI

Auxiliary Sciences

Much the same must be said of any attempt to name the sciences properly auxiliary to our study. There is no science which in one way or another is not tributary and helpful to this line of investigation. As there is nothing in the universe which does not come within the circle of religious ideas and interests, there can be no body of scientific truths destitute of significance for the study of religions. If, however, one inquires for a list of those sciences from whose progress our study in its present state has most to hope, at least the following would have to be included:

I. General Anthropology and Ethnology.
II. Psychology, Personal and Ethnic (*Völkerpsychologie*).
III. The Science of Language and Comparative Philology.
IV. Moral Philosophy and Comparative Ethics.
V. Political Philosophy and Comparative Jurisprudence.
VI. The History of Art and Comparative Æsthetics.
VII. The History of Human Culture and the Comparative Study of Civilizations.
VIII. Universal History and the Philosophy of History.
IX. Geography of Races, Civilizations and Religions.
X. General Sociology.

The relations which these various branches sustain to each other, and the exact ground which each should cover, are not as yet in all cases well defined; but the progress of any one of them, however defined, is helpful to the study of religions.

CHAPTER VII

The Attractiveness, the Utility, and the Perils of the Study of Religions

To the thoughtful mind whatever is human has imperishable interest and attraction. Be it but a bit of drifting folklore; be it but a barbarous rite; be it a peculiarity of speech, of government, or of social organization; be it an achievement, an inspiration, a tradition, a myth, a parable, a discovery, an invention; be it barely a fossil relic of some far-off geologic period—if it is only human, it is at once invested with a fascination altogether unlike that attaching to anything not expressive of personal life. But of all human aspirations the religious is the highest; of all human traditions those of religion are the oldest; of all human institutions those of religion are the most vital; of all human aims and achievements in art, in literature, in music, in education, those of religion are the divinest. In the study of religion, therefore, the charm which the human has for the humanist and for humanity is at its maximum.

But beyond and above the human lies the superhuman. And it is to the realm of the superhuman; to the heavens and hells of humanity; to the worlds invisible and worlds yet to come; to orders of beings immaterial; to disembodied spirits, angels, archangels, rulers of celestial spheres, divinities in human and other forms, demigods; to the Supreme and Eternal One, who alone can say, "I am and by me all subsist"—it is to this realm that the study of religions introduces us. Hence, as long as the hidden future either attracts or terrifies men, as long as the mystery of the unseen piques the curiosity of human questioners, as long as the superhuman origin, ground, and destination of the

world and of humanity have fascination for human thought, so long must the study of the phenomena of religion have fascinating interest for men.

Again, at the present time the study has the charm of wonderful freshness and novelty. In our generation a greater progress has been made in this field of investigation than in any preceding one. The vast literatures of the great ethnic religions of Asia are for the first time undergoing exploration. The unearthed cities and shrines of ancient empires are daily yielding precious secrets. Through the gates of unlocked hieroglyphics we are conducted into ancient worlds and civilizations whose very memory had perished. Meantime the pioneers of the Christian missions and of commerce are penetrating into the inmost recesses of the last retreats of barbarism, and disclosing for comparative study the superstitions and the customs and the cults of those respecting whom recorded history could give us no knowledge. Till now the materials for an all-comprehending and therefore truly scientific study of the religion have been lacking. Even at present its vast sources are just opened. All the greater, of course, are the zeal, the enthusiasm, the success of the workers who are constantly bringing new materials to light. All the greater, too, is the zest with which constructive scholarship is giving itself to the task of mastering the vast results of individual specialists in archæology, philology, ethnology, etc., and of organizing them into the new special, comparative, and universal sciences of religion, which as yet have scarcely been named and defined.

Of the utility of the study of one's own religion, whichever it may be, it is not necessary to speak. Every intelligent and thoughtful man feels it to be of practical importance to know the truth respecting the origin and history of the religious community with which by birth or public profession he is associated. Without intelligent personal convictions respecting the propriety of

the claims which his religion makes upon him, he cannot satisfactorily meet those claims. But without a study of the system, and of the duties which it inculcates, and of the grounds on which it bases those duties, he cannot have the requisite personal convictions. Hence, among every people and sect a study of the inherited religion is esteemed essential to an intelligent and well-supported practice of the duties it inculcates.

As respects ourselves, who are representatives of the World-Religion in its Christian stage, the advantages accruing from the study of the non-Christian systems along with our own, and from the study of all religious phenomena, historically, systematically, and philosophically, are almost numberless. A few of the more obvious and direct are the following:

1. Such study must tend to guard one against that narrowness and uncharitableness of judgment, that caste-pride and self-righteousness, into which all ignorant religionists are sure to fall.

2. More than almost any study, it must throw light upon the nature of man; upon his relation to other beings; upon the law and end and meaning of history; upon the relation of the finite to the infinite. In fine, there is scarcely a problem of anthropology, ethnology, sociology, cosmology, theology, or ontology toward whose solution the thorough and scientific investigation of the religious phenomena of the world will not contribute.

3. The great literary and artistic creations of the world are so inseparably connected with religious ideas, inspirations, and achievements that, without familiarity with these, the Iliad and the Mahabharata, the Serapæum and the Parthenon, Apollo Belvedere and the oratorio of the Messiah, are entirely unintelligible. The study of religion and of its history is, therefore, a fundamental and essential element in any truly liberal and polite education.

4. If Christianity is mistaken and arrogant in its claims and expectations, if it is only one of many religions, all of merely

human origin, it surely is in the interest of truth and genuine progress that this fact be shown. On the other hand, if Christianity furnishes the only key to human history and destiny, the sooner and the wider and the more convincingly this can be proven the better. But for the investigating and arguing of this question on either side a wide knowledge of the religions of the world and of their history has now become indispensable.

5. Finally, to those who, by settled convictions of its truth, and by public profession of its life, and by official authorization of its professors, are public expounders and teachers and defenders of Christianity, a wide and constantly increasing acquaintance with the religious phenomena of the world is of incalculable advantage: partly by affording a world of varied and apposite illustration such as a public teacher needs; partly by the new light which it sheds upon Bible history and Bible doctrine; partly by reason of the ability it gives to expose the ignorance of dabblers and babblers; and, finally, by reason of the fresh and ever more perfect insight it gives into the essence of the true religion, and into the identity of ideal Christianity with ideal religion.

But while so great utility must be claimed for our study, it cannot be denied that to the beginner it presents somewhat of peril. In every case the student approaches the investigation with religious, if not also with speculative, and national, and racial prepossessions. So much more intimate and sympathetic has been his relation to one of the religions of the world than to the others that it becomes one of the most difficult of tasks for him, in studying other systems, to place himself in every case at the point of view of those who have been born and reared in them. And just in proportion to the difficulty of doing this is there danger lest he do less than justice to the alien systems, even if he does not do more than justice to his own.

Again, every marked widening of intellectual vision caused by new knowledge necessitates new adjustments of knowledge to

faith and of faith to knowledge. And every attempt to effect a thus necessitated new adjustment involves something of peril to one's faith, whether that faith be true or false. In cases where it is false the increase of knowledge must, slowly it may be, yet surely, destroy it. But even where one's religious conviction is essentially true and well founded it may be sorely imperiled, and, in particular individuals, is doubtless often destroyed by the force of that natural reaction which the mind experiences on discovering the inadequacy of early and outgrown expressions of its faith. For example, when the Christian student comes for the first time to investigate, in a scientific spirit, the different religions of the world; to compare and contrast the Christian with other religious systems; to face for the first time the impressive thought that even upon his own principles the providential government of the world must in some way have included and utilized all ethnic religions; that therefore, somehow, they must all have had a place and a significance in the divine plan, his mind is apt to experience a kind of bewilderment. The new horizon is so much broader than the accustomed one that he is in danger of entirely losing sight of the old and familiar landmarks. Upon a naturally narrow, conceited, and ill-balanced mind the effect, in many cases, is to induce a reactionary contempt for its earlier faith and a total rejection of the Christian world-view. Upon a broader, deeper, and more penetrating intelligence the effect is quite the reverse. The height and depth and length and breadth of God's kingdom are seen in a light never dreamed of before. Now for the first time does Christianity become the true World-Religion, the explanation of all history, the prophecy of a yet-to-be-consummated ethnic and cosmic unity.

BOOK FIRST

The Religious Phenomena of the World Historically Considered

INTRODUCTION

In chapter third of the General Introduction we saw that the historic method of investigation and representation might be applied:

1. To particular religions, ethnic or other; or

2. To historic features, tendencies, or developments common to a class of religions; or

3. To the religious life of mankind as a whole.

The first of these applications gives us the History of Religions individually considered; the second, the History of Groups of Religions comparatively or otherwise considered; the third, the History of Religion universally considered.

In each of these lines of work we have as yet only tentative and unsatisfactory beginnings. In the opening section of his "History of Religion" (London and Boston, 1877), Professor Tiele has defined the first and last of the above applications, but somewhat strangely omitted any recognition of the second. Professor J. C. Moffat, of Princeton, in his "Comparative History of Religions" (New York, 1871), nowhere defines what he conceives to be the proper aim or field of the branch of history whose name he employs. The work to which he applies it is a contribution, not so much to the Comparative History of Religions properly so called, as to the History of Religion universally considered. Even the "History of Religion," by Professor Menzies, makes no distinction whatever between the historic, the systematic, and the philosophic procedures in this field of study.

Historical investigation can promise no useful result unless based upon a correct idea of history itself, and especially of its

essential factors and laws. For example, if human freedom be a reality, human developments must be radically different from all developments below the human sphere. Each class must be interpreted in the light of that difference. Again, if superhuman or subhuman personalities exist, and have at any time, in any place, or in any degree affected human thought, feeling, or action, these extra-human personalities constitute a factor in the development of the race—a factor without reference to which the race's history can never be rightly conceived of or represented. One of the first and fundamental duties, therefore, of any author professing to set forth the history of a religion, or of a movement belonging to several religions, or of religion universally considered, is to define his standpoint with respect to man's freedom or unfreedom, and with respect to the adequacy or inadequacy of human agency taken alone to account for the phenomena under investigation. Furthermore, having clearly and frankly defined it, it is, of course, his duty to remain true to it throughout his entire treatment of the facts considered.

The scientific and philosophic vindication of the standpoint adopted by any historian of religion must be found partly in the degree of perfection with which it corresponds to the facts in hand, and partly in its relation to the outcome of the Philosophy of Religion in general. So far as *a priori* considerations are concerned, if the materialist or agnostic claims that by the logical law of parsimony we are estopped from postulating superhuman factors in any domain of human history until it has been demonstrated beyond dispute that the human ones cannot possibly explain the facts, the theist, and even the pantheist, may, on the other hand, with equal propriety affirm that to approach the study of religions with an *a priori* denial of the existence and possible influence of superhuman beings is as unreasonable as it would be to approach the study of the flora of the earth with a sturdy determination not to admit the existence of super-

floral light and air and the possible influence of superfloral floriculturists.

As all human history is a process of constructive or destructive development, the history of religions and of religion partakes of this character. However abrupt, radical, and revolutionary some of the changes of the religious world may at first sight appear, there is never an entire break with the past. As the religious life of the man, the community, the race, goes forward, new factors are continually taking their places in it; new social and spiritual and other environments are constantly coming to affect it; yet it is the same man, the same people, the same race whose life is thus proceeding from phase to phase. In the subject of each religious development resides a continuity of being. In its life, as in all vital processes, the immediate past conditions the possibilities of the present; the present, the possibilities of the immediate future.

In order rightly to conceive of any evolution, care must be taken to obtain a correct conception, first, of the subject; and, secondly, of the environment.

This being the case, it is evident that in developments in any wise related to man it is hardly possible to give too much attention to the element of personality in both subject and environment. The development of bodily strength and aptitude attained by the athlete can never be understood without particular attention to the personal purpose and personal resolution by which he has held himself to faithful and prolonged training. So the evolution of a thorn-bearing tree into a pear-bearing one requires, for its right understanding, a knowledge of the power of a skillful grafter; in other words, requires that the influence of a personal, and *to it* supernatural, environment shall be taken into account. Hence, in studying a religious evolution, equal care must be taken, on the one hand, that the personal power of self-determination belonging to each man be not overlooked, and, on the other

hand, that due account be taken of the influences that may come from the other personal powers, human or extra-human, which help to make up each man's environment.

In investigating and setting forth the history of religion universally considered, nothing can be more unscientific than to ignore the chronological order of the different particular religions as they were actually related to the life of the world, substituting therefor a purely arbitrary one, based upon supposed degrees of comparative simplicity, or comparative complexness, or like principles of classification. Tiele's arrangement of the different systems, according to which the student is introduced to the religion of the American Cherokee and Eskimo before he is to the religions of ancient Chaldæa, Egypt, or Phœnicia, and to German mythology before he is to the Greek, is a conspicuous example of the fault here alluded to. In the work of Professor Menzies the order is open to the same criticism: Islam is presented before Christianity, and Primitive Semitic religion long after the religion of the Assyrians.

The question as to the earliest form of religion is at the present day so complicated with other questions that the proper place for its discussion is in the Philosophy of Religion, where in due time it will come before us. Suffice it here to say that, according to the oldest traditions of the oldest peoples, not less than according to the sacred records of the Hebrew, Mohammedan, and Christian world, men were in the beginning blessed with divine fellowship and favor, and only after losing this fellowship became what they now are. The considerations ordinarily adduced to disprove an original state of innocence are far from convincing. Most of them would equally avail to disprove every phase or stage of human evolution that has not been in the line of direct progress toward greater and greater perfection.

In Illingworth's "Personality, Human and Divine," Chapter VI, may be found an eminently fair-minded consideration of the

problems connected with the prehistoric beginnings of the religious life of mankind. The next ensuing chapter of the same work continues the discussion in a way helpful to the beginner in studies of this nature.

DIVISION FIRST

The History of Particular Religions

The most natural order in which to treat of the history of the leading religions of the past and present is according to the three following groups:

I. The religions known to the Ancient World.
II. Those known to the Mediæval World.
III. Those with which modern discovery and exploration have made us acquainted.

It is a special recommendation of this order that, better than any other, it enables the student fruitfully to combine the study of particular religions, and of groups of religions historically related, with the study of the history of religion universally considered. This will become more and more evident the farther the investigator advances. We may, therefore, proceed to the question, What are the important religions in each of these groups, and to what point has the scientific study of their history attained?

Part I. *History of the Principal Religions Known to the Ancient World*

Here belong: (1) The religion of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, including that of their Akkado-Sumerian predecessors.

(2) The religion of the ancient Egyptians. (3) The religion of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Canaanites, and Pre-Islamic Arabians. (4) The religion of the ancient Persians and Medo-Persians. (5) The religion of the Pelasgians and Greeks. (6) The religion of the Etruscans and Romans. (7) The religion which, at the close of the period, vitally and permanently supplanted all the foregoing, to wit, the one which, by virtue of its contrast to all these local and national systems, is ever increasingly entitled to be called the World-Religion.

The foregoing include all the important religions which were known to the ancient world, and which by their growths and decays, and by their mutual historic actions and reactions, made the ancient world religiously what it was. The religions of the Chinese and Indo-Aryans are quite possibly as old as those of Greece and Rome, but not having come in any influential sense, if at all, to the knowledge of the vitally associated nations of the ancient world, they do not belong to our present group. Their history can best be studied in connection with the third period—the period in which, coming out of their isolation, they first truly begin to bring their long accumulating contribution to universal history into effective relations with the total life of humanity.

The ethnic religions of the above group have this in common: they are styled polytheistic. In entering upon the study of polytheisms, however, two things should never be forgotten. *First:* A belief in the existence of such limited and originated beings as the so-called gods of the polytheist is not in the least incompatible with a genuine belief in an unlimited and unoriginated Being back of and anterior to all these, a "God of gods," as Plato says—the real and Eternal Source of gods and of men. Polytheism, therefore, and monotheism are no more mutually exclusive at bottom than are monotheism and a belief in archangels. In fact, the most elaborate system of totemism is compatible with a

fundamentally monotheistic belief whenever—as is usually the case—the totemistic tribe conceives of its ancestral animal or plant as having originally received its being and destination from the hand of the "Great Spirit." *Second:* All peoples who explain the multiplicity of their "gods" by theogonic processes of emanation or generation must be assumed to have started with a prehistoric, or else self-postulated, monotheism. No theogony is complete and satisfying until it has conducted the mind back to a primeval and unengendered Progenitor of the total divine family. It is not strange, therefore, that in every historic polytheism we find traces of monotheism, prehistoric or speculative, or both. The Babylonians had numberless gods, but they recognized one who was considered older than all others. The same holds true of the ancient Egyptians. The name of their oldest god was *Nu*. For modern instances among savage tribes, see Andrew Lang's book entitled "The Making of Religion," Part Second.

Even if the oldest ethnic religions presented no traces of an earlier monotheism it would not disprove the biblical account of antediluvian religion. It might only prove that in the long period elapsing between the deluge and the date of the oldest records of profane history the widely scattered descendants of Noah either totally lost the knowledge of the one true God, or else placed the worship of their national and tribal divinities to such a degree in the foreground that in our exceedingly meager sources this worship seems the only one known and practiced.

In proceeding with our study the aim of the student should be to acquire as clear an idea as possible of the nature, extent, and present state of the sources for the study of each of the above enumerated religions; also information as to the religion itself, the phases through which it passed, its significance for the history of human culture and for the World-Religion.

More particular instruction as to means and methods may at

this stage be given orally and by assigned questions and topics in the classroom, following the order of the chapters below:

CHAPTER I

History of the Religion of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians.

CHAPTER II

History of the Religion of the ancient Egyptians.

CHAPTER III

History of the Religion of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Canaanites, and Pre-Islamic Arabians.

CHAPTER IV

History of the Religion of the ancient Persians and Medo-Persians.

CHAPTER V

History of the Religion of the Pelasgians and Greeks.

CHAPTER VI

History of the Religion of the Etruscans and Romans.

CHAPTER VII

History of the Religion which at the close of the period vitally and permanently supplanted all the foregoing, to wit, the World-Religion.

This last-named religion is so singularly unlike the other constituents of the group that before entering upon the study of its history during the period the student may well pause to note its characteristic quality.

It should be observed, then, that while among the eldest peoples of the ancient world we find a vague and shadowy recognition of the God of heaven gradually giving place in historic times to increasingly polytheistic ethnic religions, and these in turn oft-times menaced and sometimes undermined by later speculative, moral, and religious movements, or by political revolutions, there is one line of history in which we see that primitive Heaven-God

worship preserved and made more perfect from age to age. This remarkable line is that up which our own religion traces its genealogy.

At first sight it might seem as if this unique and most remarkable of all historic developments in the religious sphere might more appropriately and logically be subdivided or resolved into three distinct religious systems, and classified thus:

1. Primeval Religion, or the rude original germ of all the ancient religions.

2. Judaism, as the ethnic or national system of the Jews.

3. Christianity, as a beneficent schismatic and sectarian revolt from the narrowness and exclusiveness of the national Jewish faith.

Those who recognize no superhuman element in the entire evolution do thus proceed.

A deeper study of the whole subject, however, will manifest the impropriety of such classification, and the scientific necessity of conceding to this ancient worship a character and historic unity of its own. Its absolutely earliest form was, indeed, primeval, preëthnic even, and hence, in a certain sense, the germ of all the most ancient religions of the world, but its Hebrew form was not ethnic in the proper sense. Although to the Hebrews a national religion, it was not national in the same sense as were the surrounding Gentile religions. It was believed by them that at the very beginning, and amid the revelations of Mount Sinai, Jehovah had declared the whole earth to be His (Exod. 19. 5). The first of the Ten Commandments implied the same doctrine. The Jews regarded themselves not as the monopolists, but, rather, as the temporary custodians of the true faith. They were trustees, guardians, executors, holding a precious legacy for the benefit of younger brothers not yet of age. They desired the divine blessing for themselves as a means of blessing for the whole world. "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, that thy way may

be known upon earth, thy saving health to all nations." They regarded their religion as universal in its nature and destination. From times unknown, it was understood, believed, and gloried in, that in Abraham's seed all nations of the earth were to be blessed. Thus was the Jewish religion not ethnic, local, limited, but, from the very dawn of its distinct and proper consciousness, self-consciously and professedly universal in its nature and possibilities.

Nor was this universality merely ideal; it was a trait which powerfully affected the life. From the days when Moses said to the Kenite Hobab, "Come with us, and we will do thee good" (Num. 10. 29), to the time when Jesus declared to his countrymen, "Ye compass land and sea to make one proselyte," this zeal to bring all nations, in God's time and way, into the enjoyment of the privileges of their own religious covenant and communion was a signal characteristic of the Hebrew people. In Rahab and Ruth it was seen that converts from the Gentile nations could be promoted even to a place in the royal line of promise. In the Psalms, in Isaiah, and the other prophets, one can see how confidently, yea, how longingly, the nation looked forward to the time when the knowledge of the glory of their Jehovah should cover the whole earth; when there would be no further need of proselyting teachers, no man needing to say to his brother, "Know thou Jehovah"—all knowing him already, from the least unto the greatest. How perfectly opposed to the spirit of every ancient ethnic religion! With these it was high treason to betray to neighboring peoples the sacred books, dogmas, or rites of the ancestral faith. King Tarquinius of Rome caused Valerius Soranus, a duumvir, to be sewed up in a sack and thrown into the sea for the crime of showing to Petronius, a Sabine, a book relating to the Roman religion.

So far, indeed, was Old Testament religion from being an ethnic system that it would be far more correct and scientific to style it the one implacable historic antagonist of all ancient eth-

nicisms. Age after age it stood a perpetual protest against them all. Even when overthrown and enslaved by surrounding powers, this strange people still confidently foretold the fall and failure of all these proud religions and states. Its prophets ridiculed, denounced, and doomed to destruction the mightiest deities of Egypt and Babylon, Phœnicia and Syria. The darker the present became, the brighter and nearer seemed to them the "Day of Jehovah," when he should arise to shake terribly the earth; when the idols he should utterly abolish.

In like manner, the suggested analogy of Christianity to the religious systems and sects which have originated by way of "revolt" or "reaction" against ethnic religions is only of the most superficial and outward character. It has no basis in the real essence of Christianity. Reactionary sects and their systems arise, not from the ripening and perfecting of the essential principles and tendencies of the parent systems, as does Christianity, but from the opposition of principles and tendencies antagonistic to the traditional religion. Christianity is not a new religion; it is merely a completer form of an older. If we are to call it a system distinct from the Jewish, it is a consummating, not a destroying, system. Jesus declared, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfill." Judaism, through all its traceable history, expected to flower out into a new dispensation upon the coming of the Promised One. Reactionary religions and sects reject, abhor, and demonize the gods of the ancestral worship, but Christians still worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Reactionary systems reject and destroy the teachings and sacred books of the parent system; Christianity, on the contrary, reverently retains and hallows all revelations and scriptures of the Old Dispensation. The founders of reactionary sects and systems promulgate new conditions of salvation; in Christianity, on the contrary, the apostle usually counted the most radical and innovating of all expressly identifies the saving faith of the Christian with the sav-

ing faith of Abraham (Gal. 3. 7-29; Rom. 4). Even on its own claims, Christianity is to Judaism what the substance is to the forecast shadow (Col. 2. 17; Heb. 10. 1); what a message from God's Son is, compared with a message from forerunning, God-sent messengers (Matt. 21. 33-41; Heb. .1. 1; 2. 4); what adult sonship is to the precedent stage of tutelage and pupilage (Gal. 4. 1-7); what the full corn in the ear is to the ear as yet unfilled (Mark 4. 26-29). These similes all go to show, not only that there is a recognized principle of unity underlying the successive dispensations of sacred history, but also that this unity is positive, organic, and institutional. With the progress of revelation, divine and human, the form has changed, but the essence has remained unchanged. This essence, according to its own persistent representation, is the kingdom and life of God in enlightened, renewed, and obedient souls.

In yet another sense this progressive World-Religion is entitled to its name. It is the perpetual heir of the world's divinest treasures in every land. It embodies and expresses the power which is slowly revealing the latent meaning of human history. In Abraham it receives and carries forth from Babylonia the oldest and most sacred traditions of the antediluvian world. In Moses it takes possession of all the wisdom of the Egyptians. At Jerusalem it employs the best art of the world, Phœnicia's, to build and adorn a nobler temple than ever Phœnicia saw. Even in captivity it makes the proudest Persian conqueror its servant. For its sacred books it borrows the matchless tongue of Hellas; for schoolmasters for its children, the princely thinkers of Athens; for the better equipment of its free-born apostle, the citizenship of Rome. Its field is the world. Conscious of a divine origin and mission, everywhere at home, it, and it alone, has shown qualification to overmaster all other systems, and having vitally appropriated whatever is vital in them, permanently to supplant them all.

Part II. *History of the Principal Religions Known to the Mediæval World.*

Since the fall of the Ancient World, its heir, the on-moving World-Religion, has more than ever had custody and guidance of human culture. For some centuries its leading instrument for this service in the secular sphere was the scepter of the Roman empire. In this Christianized dominion more than anywhere else, and more than ever before, the prehistorically dispersed human race came to a consciousness of its unity. The old ethnic ideals fell, never to rise again. Provincialism in religion, as in manners and modes of thought, lost caste. Polytheism ceased to be suited to the cultivated; it was fit only for (*pagani*) rustic villagers. Purely ethnic philosophies and religions, like ethnic autochthonisms, needed no learned refutation; they simply found themselves left behind in the forward movement of Humanity. Under a redemptive experience of the All-Fatherhood of God, men of the most diverse tribes and tongues quickly discerned and acknowledged the All-Brotherhood of Man. A new philosophy of the world and of its history burst into expression in Augustine's "Civitas Dei," then hastened forward to fuller and even more immortal utterance in Dante's "Divina Commedia."

With the progress of the endogenous growth of the World-Religion in the new world-culture during this period, every well-recognized survival of the elder ethnic systems disappeared, or was given a new and higher meaning. In the progress of its exogenous growth, on the frontiers of the monotheistic world, new ethnic cults were discovered, but none of them equaled, either in maturity or in grade of culture, the great ethnic religions of the elder world. In turn these fell, and at the close of the second period of universal history, as at the close of the first, the

renewedly victorious World-Religion was found the heir and successor to all that had been.

In the order of the following chapters the new forms of ethnicism belonging to the period are successively to be studied. In all cases the data are very defective; but here, as in similar cases, an important part of the profit of historical study consists in the discovery of the bounds of knowledge.

CHAPTER I

History of reëstablished Zoroastrianism in the new kingdom of Persia under the Sassanidæ.

CHAPTER II

History of the Religion of the Celtic Tribes.

CHAPTER III

History of the Religion of the Teutonic Tribes.

CHAPTER IV

History of the Religion of the Slavic Tribes.

CHAPTER V

History of the Religion of the West-Mongolians.

CHAPTER VI

Continuation of the History of the World-Religion—the monotheism which in Jewish, Christian, or Mohammedan form, at the end of the period, had vitally and permanently supplanted all the foregoing.

The above order of treatment best answers to the historic movement as a whole. It also has the advantage of presenting Islamism in its true historic relations on the one hand to the ethnic systems (see above, Chapter III on page 30), and on the other to Judaism and Christianity. The place of the system in these

latter relationships can best be seen under Chapter IV of Part First of Division Second of the present Book (page 40), and under Part Third of Division First of Book Second (page 51).

In the study of this subordinate type of the World-Religion two points are of more than ordinary scientific as well as practical interest. First, the constant testimony borne by the Koran to the divine origin, authority, and truth of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. This is learnedly treated by Sir William Muir in his little work, "The Koran, Its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony It Bears to the Holy Scriptures." In this, citing the original Arabic texts, he examines critically each of the one hundred and thirty-one passages of the Koran referring to the Bible, or quoting from it. He thus finds and shows that Mohammed uniformly assumes the existence and currency of the Old and New Testaments in his time, that he calls them the Word of God, that he attests their inspiration and authority, and inculcates upon his followers obedience to them.

The second point of peculiar interest is that, while Islamism claims for Mohammed the honor of being the latest of a series of twenty-five great prophets who have formed a holy succession from Adam downward, and while it gives special honor to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, as chief of these twenty-five, and as divinely appointed heads of successive divine dispensations, it yet remains a curious fact that of all these greater and lesser prophets, Jesus is the only one to whom the Koran imputes no sin, the only one who never needed the pardoning grace of God. That Mohammed was a sinner, and again and again needed the forgiveness of sins, is abundantly taught in such passages as Sura 4. 104, 105; 40. 21; 48. 1-3; 93. 6, 7; 110. 3.

It is also an interesting fact that all Mohammedans are Second Adventists in an approximately Christian sense of this

term, and that it is their universal belief that we are now living in the last times. Their true Mahdi may appear at any hour.

All three forms of the one World-Religion strikingly converge in their eschatology. Jews, Christians, and Moslems teach an almost identical view of a resurrection, world-judgment, and world-renovation, in which the one divinely appointed Mediator is to play the central part. In Mohammedanism this final Consummator of the Kingdom of God among men is held to be not Mohammed but Jesus Christ.

In studying this period the following works will be found instructive: Harnack, "The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries." Bigg, "The Church's Task under the Empire." Uhlhorn, "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism." Merivale, "Conversion of the Roman Empire"; "Conversion of the Northern Nations." Maclear, on the same subjects. E. G. Hardy, "Christianity and the Roman Government." Milman, "History of Latin Christianity." C. L. Bruce, "Gesta Christi." Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

The best life of Mohammed is Muir's, which also includes a brief history of Islam; 4 vols., London, 1858-1860. There is also a condensation in one volume. Sale's translation of the Koran has held a place of honor since 1734. Rodwell's, giving the Suras in chronological order, was published in 1862; E. H. Palmer's, 2 vols., 1880. Lane's Selections from the Koran is a valuable compilation, and reached a second edition in 1879. The most accessible Commentary upon the Koran is that by E. N. Wherry; 4 vols., London, 1885. A valuable encyclopædic work was published in 1885 by Hughes, entitled "A Dictionary of Islam." See, also, his "Notes on Mohammedanism." Stanley Lane Poole edited a little work in 1882, under the title "The Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammed." An excellent text-book in small compass, is "The Faith of Islam," by E. Sell; London, 1882. Useful and inexpensive are the following: Muir, "The Koran, Its Composition and Teaching," London, 1879; Stobart, "Islam and Its Founder," London, 1877; W. St. Clair-Tisdall, "The Religion of the Crescent," 1895; Henry Preserved Smith, "The Bible and Islam," 1897. Macdonald, "Aspects of Islam," 1910; and his "Development of Muslim Theology," 1903. On the early progress of Mohammedanism, see Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Chapter L and onward; also, Ockley's "History of the Saracens"; also, Muir, "Caliphate." "The Mohammedan World," 1907, is a recent survey of Mohammedan countries.

PART III. *History of the Principal Religions of the World brought to Light in Modern Times.*

Here belong all those successively disclosed by the progress of modern exploration before, during, and since the circumnavigation of the globe. They claim the attention of the student in the following order, as that in which they first claimed the attention of the civilized world:

I. The religions of the West-Central and South African Tribes.
II. The religions of the American Indians.
III. The religions of the Pacific Islanders.
IV. The religions of the East India Aborigines and Hindus.
V. The religions of the aboriginal and present populations of Farther India, and of the Islands of the Indian Ocean.
VI. The religions of the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans.
VII. The religions of the North and Central Asiatic Nomads.
VIII. The still advancing World-Religion, which, chiefly in its Christian form, has during the period more or less completely supplanted the foregoing in South Africa, in North and South America, in the chief Islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans; which has taken political control of Africa, Northern and Southern Asia, Australia, New Zealand, the whole of the New World; and which is steadily establishing itself in every unchristianized portion of the globe.

In the case of the first, second, third, fifth, and seventh of the above-mentioned religions, it is plainly impossible to trace their rise and historic development. The data are entirely lacking. On the other hand, the religions of the Hindus and Chinese present historic developments full of interest and importance.

DIVISION SECOND

The History of Developments Common to Several Particular Religions

The lines of historic investigation presenting themselves under this head are almost numberless. For our present propædeutic purpose the more important of them are the following:

Part I. *History of the Rise and Development of Racial, National, Tribal, or other types or varieties from a Religion originally single.*

I. The Proto-Semitic Religion in its development into the historic systems of Assyria, Phœnicia, the Canaanites, etc.
II. The Pre-Vedic Proto-Aryan Religion in its development into the various historic systems of the Indo-Germanic peoples.
III. Original Buddhism in its development into the Ceylonese, Burmese, Chinese, Tibetan, and other varieties.
IV. Earliest Monotheism in its development into the existing systems and sects.

Part II. *History of the Absorption of lesser and more local Religions into greater and more prevalent Ones.*

Examples:

I. In the history of ancient Babylonia.
II. In the history of ancient Egypt.
III. In the history of the Persian Empire.
IV. In the history of the Roman Empire.
V. In the history of Buddhism.
VI. In the history of the World-Religion.

PART III. *History of the Rise and Development of various Cults common to several Particular Religions.*

Here belong such as the following:

I. Ancestor and hero-worship.
II. Light, fire, sun, moon, and star worship.
III. Worship of terrestrial objects (zoölatry, phytolatry, dendrolatry, etc).
IV. Worship of spirits shamanistically conceived of by their worshipers.

PART IV. *History of the Rise and Development of particular Rites and Usages, or Institutions common to several Religions.*

Here are meant such as:

I. Animal sacrifices, and religious offerings in general.
II. Divination in its various forms.
III. Religious tonsure; circumcision, and other bodily mutilations from religious motives; human sacrifice.
IV. Religious festivals; orgies; pilgrimages to holy places, etc.
V. Priesthoods, and other religious orders.
VI. Temple building; sacred art, etc.

PART V. *History of the Rise and Progress of various Speculative Movements common to several Religions.*

Here are meant such movements as:

I. That toward speculative theism.
II. That toward speculative atheism.
III. That toward pantheism.
IV. That toward dualism.
V. That toward optimism.
VI. That toward pessimism.
VII. That toward casualism.
VIII. That toward fatalism.

PART VI. *History of the Rise and Progress of various Practical Tendencies common to different Religions.*

Here belong such tendencies and movements as:

I. That toward lifeless doctrinal dogmatism.
II. That toward revolutionary skepticism.
III. That toward religious mysticism.
IV. That toward hierarchical ceremonialism.
V. That toward eremitic and cenobitic asceticism.
VI. That toward aggressive proselytizing or persecuting fanaticism.

DIVISION THIRD

THE HISTORY OF MATTERS COMMON TO ALL RELIGIONS, OR THE HISTORY OF RELIGION UNIVERSALLY CONSIDERED

THE imperfection of our sources renders it as yet impossible to elaborate in a really satisfactory manner any considerable period or even branch of the universal history of religion.

The following among other conceivable lines of investigation suggest in a rough way the interest and the immense extent of the field:

I. A synchronological history of the rise and development of the religions of the world, including a conspectus of their present state, geographically, ethnologically, and statistically considered.
II. History of the actions and reactions of religions upon each other, and the effects thereof upon the history of religion universally considered.
III. History of religious delusions and impostures.

IV. History of religion viewed as a disuniting and as a reuniting factor in the ethnical and national life of humanity.

V. History of the religious conceptions and life of mankind set forth from the standpoint of professed agnosticism.

VI. History of the religious conceptions and life of mankind set forth from the standpoint of the World-Religion.

At this point the History of Religions introduces and gives place to the Philosophy of Religion, for an intelligible history of the world's religious phenomena as a whole includes of necessity an explanation of the methods in which, and of the reasons on account of which, they have become what they are, and this of course is a Philosophy of Religion-historically-considered.

BOOK SECOND

The Religious Phenomena of the World Systematically Considered

(Hierography General and Special; or, the Phenomenology of Religions and of Religion)

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding Book we have had to do with religious developments as processes; here we have to do with their results. The difference is well illustrated by that existing between the sciences called the History of Christian Doctrine and Didactic Theology. While the cultivator of the one studies the genesis and successive modifications of a particular process in the life of the Christian Church, the cultivator of the other studies the accomplished result of the same process at a particular point of time. The same relation exists on a broader field between the History of the Surface of the Earth and Geography. In each case the one of the related sciences shows us the origin and progress of a historic movement; the other, the attained historic result. The one is profluent in character, the other static.

In approaching the systematic treatment of the religious phenomena of the world as a whole, the first questions encountered are those relating to point of view, classification of systems, and order of treatment. As to the first no scholar undertaking work in this field can satisfy his readers, or even himself, if in advance of his exposition he have not personally reached what seems to him the true point of view for the understanding of the facts he is about to present. Of such points of view three have found many exponents—so many indeed that Jordan, in his "Comparative Religion," Chapter VII, describes them as constituting three distinct "schools." The first of these make "divine Revelation" the antecedent of all human experience of a religious character. The second hold that men have attained to such religious light and experience as they possess through a process of "purely

natural Evolution." The third—more wisely—aim to harmonize the truths one-sidedly emphasized by the first and second by showing that the very essence of religion implies a *mutual* activity on the part of the Divine Object and the Human Subject.

The classification of religious systems for the purpose of systematic exposition should be primarily based on the order of their historic succession. Ancient religions should be presented before the modern. So in those cases where a continuous religious development has successively culminated in systems quite distinct from each other, these successive systems should also be expounded in the same order in which they appear. Thus in the case of Hindu religion, the Vedic system should be expounded before the Brahmanical, the Brahmanical before the conglomerate system now prevalent. The reasons for such adherence to the historical order are too obvious to need enumeration.

As to contemporary religions, ancient or modern, several principles of classification are possible, each with its own peculiar advantages. For example, in the days of Tacitus the national religion of the Germans was contemporary with a great number of other religious systems; but if, in classifying the religions of that date with a view to lucid exposition, one follow the principle of ethnological affinity, and, accordingly, study and exhibit the Germanic system in connection with the related mythologies and rites of other Indo-European peoples, Hindu, Persian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, Slav, etc., the task will be greatly simplified and the result more truly scientific. On the other hand, there are often found groups of contemporary religions where the ethnological principle of classification is entirely inapplicable. The peoples among whom they are found are so mixed, or so diverse as to race-character, that the attempt to keep race-peculiarities in view would only introduce confusion. The ancient Babylonians are such a people; the Egyptians another; even the Chinese, in the broad sense, another. Indeed, so rare are the

instances of religious systems embodying and expressing what may be called race-ideas and race-tendencies that some eminent writers deny their existence altogether, and affirm that all historic forms of religion should be scientifically presented in their relation to *nations*—none of them in their imagined relation to races. If this view be thought one-sided and extreme, it at least has the merit of reminding us of the cases where the national or political principle of classification may be more advantageously employed than anywhere else; namely, in the grouping of the contemporary religions of ethnographically mixed peoples.

For a statement and criticism of the leading classifications of religions proposed by recent writers, see Jastrow's work, entitled "The Study of Religion," Chapter II, pp. 58-128. (The classification proposed by himself, p. 117, has not escaped an equally earnest criticism in its turn.)

DIVISION FIRST

Particular Religions Systematically Treated

For the purpose of a systematic treatment, the grouping of the leading religions of the world according to the order proposed for their historical study in Book I, Division I, would present many advantages, and should, perhaps, have the preference over all others. Should one desire to vary it, however, it might be found convenient to group all religions in the following classes:

I. The Extinct Ethnic.
II. The Yet Surviving Ethnic.
III. The Monotheistic Systems.

Adopting this classification, the present Division includes three several Parts.

PART I. *Systematic Exposition of the Chief Extinct Ethnic Religions of the World.*

The exposition should include not only their conceptions or doctrines, but also their religious institutions, rites, customs, sacred objects, etc. Here belong, among others, the religions:

I. Of the Ancient Babylonians and Assyrians.
II. Of the Ancient Egyptians.
III. Of the Phœnicians, Canaanites, and Arabians.
IV. Of the Greeks.
V. Of the Romans.
VI. Of the Celts.
VII. Of the Teutons.
VIII. Of the Slavs.
IX. Of the Mexicans.
X. Of the Peruvians.

In few if any of the above have we reason for believing that the religious development culminated in successive systems so distinct and separate from each other as to call for separate descriptive treatment.

PART II. *Systematic Exposition of the Chief Living Ethnic Religions of the World.*

Here belong, among others, the religions:

I. Of the Hindus.
II. Of the more or less Buddhistic populations of Eastern Asia.
III. Of the Parsees.
IV. Of the Barbarian World.

PART III. *Systematic Exposition of the Chief Successive Forms of the ever-forward-looking World-Religion.*

These are, of course:

I. The Hebrew Form (Ancient Judaism).
II. The Apostolic (Primitive Christianity).
III. The Oriental Christian Form (Greek Church).
IV. The Arabian, Judæo-Christian (Islam).
V. The Latin Christian (Romanism).
VI. The Teutonic Christian (Protestantism).
VII. The fast ripening flower and fruit of all historic forms in an actualized kingdom of God on earth.

DIVISION SECOND

SYSTEMATIC TREATMENT OF MATTERS COMMON TO SEVERAL RELIGIONS

THE comparative study of any group of religions, whether naturally and historically related or arbitrarily selected, discloses certain likenesses and unlikenesses in their characteristic conceptions, beliefs, and usages. These resemblances and differences are always interesting and often highly instructive, especially as contributions toward a true Philosophy of Religion and a true Philosophy of History. Systematically presented, they constitute Comparative Theology, properly so called.

PART I. *Systematic Exposition of Conceptions common to Various Religions selected for comparison.*

These conceptions may be most lucidly presented in two parallel classes in parallel columns, the first of which relates to monotheistic, the second to non-monotheistic, religions:

I. Their conceptions of God.	I. Their Theogonies and Theologies.
II. Their conceptions of the Creation of the World.	II. Their Cosmogonies and Cosmologies.
III. Their conceptions of Angels and Men.	III. Ethnic Pneumatology (Metempsychosis, etc.).
IV. Conception of the one divine Law, and of Sin.	IV. Ethnic views of Moral Obligation and of Evil.
V. Divinely-sent Teachers and Prophets.	V. Self-attained Seership, Buddhahood, etc.
VI. Their conceptions of Salvation from Sin.	VI. Their conception of Deliverance from Evil.
VII. Their conceptions of Death and of the Future.	VII. Their conceptions of Death and of the Future.

PART II. *Systematic Exposition of the Ethical Ideals and Moral Life achieved in various Religions selected for Comparison as repects:*

I. The Duties of Piety.
II. The Duties of Parents and Children.
III. The Duties of Husbands and Wives.
IV. The Duties of Masters and Servants.
V. The Duties of Rulers and Subjects.
VI. The Duties of Man to Beast.
VII. The Duties of Man to Man.

PART III. *Systematic Exposition of the Laws and Institutional Life of various Religions selected for Comparison.*

I. Forms of Organization and Administration.
II. Laws touching Initiation, Discipline, etc.
III. Laws touching Rites of an ordinary or periodic character.
IV. Laws touching Rites of an extraordinary or unique character.
V. Laws relating to the Priesthoods exclusively.
VI. General codes of religious laws; Sacred Books; relation of the Individual to the Governing Power in different religions, etc.

DIVISION THIRD

SYSTEMATIC TREATMENT OF MATTERS COMMON TO ALL RELIGIONS

IN the present condition of knowledge a satisfactory systematic treatment of the matters common to all religions is impossible. The divisions below are intended only as suggestions of what would be desirable if practicable.

PART I. *Conceptions Common to All Religions.*

I. Conceptions of the Divine.
II. Conceptions of the Origin of Things.
III. Conceptions of the Origin of Man.
IV. Conceptions of the Origin of Evil.
V. Conceptions of Deliverance from Evil.
VI. Conceptions of the Highest Good.

PART II. *Sentiments Common to All Religions.*

I. The sentiment of Dependence upon somewhat extra-human.
II. The sentiment of Obligation toward that extra-human somewhat.
III. The sentiment of moral Self-approval with respect to the object or objects of religion.
IV. The sentiment of moral Self-reprobation in the same respect.
V. The sentiments of religious hope and fear; trust and distrust; love and hate, etc.

PART III. *Practices Common to All Religions.*

I. Practices expressive predominantly of religious Self-surrender.
II. Practices expressive predominantly of religious Self-assertion.

In the foregoing Division, as before in the corresponding Division Third of Book I, we make a transition to a branch of the Philosophy of Religion. There (p. 43) we saw the History of Religious Phenomena universally considered merge itself into the Philosophy of Religion-historically-considered. Here, by a like inherent necessity, the Systematic Exposition of Religion-universally-considered merges itself in the Philosophy of Religion-systematically-considered. No exposition of the religious phenomena of the world as a whole can be truly and completely systematic that does not make clear the logical interrelations of all and the rational significance of all, and this twofold office is the task of the Philosophy of Religion-systematically-considered. Thus both the historic and the systematic procedures prepare the way for and in the end give place to the philosophic.

BOOK THIRD

The Religious Phenomena of the World Philosophically Considered

(The Philosophy of Religion)

Introduction to the Book.

Division I. Philosophy of the Object of Religion and of His Manward Self-revelation.

Division II. Philosophy of the Subject of Religion and of His Godward Self-revelation.

Division III. Philosophy of the Interrelations of Subject and Object in the Vital Movement of the World-Religion.

INTRODUCTION[1]

An introduction to the Philosophy of Religion should include at least the following topics:

I. The Aim and Possibility of a Philosophy of Religion.
II. The Relation of the Philosophy of Religion to other branches of Philosophy.
III. The Relation of the Philosophy of Religion to the History, and to the Systematic Exposition of Religion.
IV. History, Literature, and Present State of the Philosophy of Religion.
V. Different fundamental Standpoints and Postulates of different Philosophies of Religion.
VI. Plan and Method of treatment demanded by the present state of religious knowledge and by present currents of thought and life.

A word respecting each must take the place of fuller exposition.

Ad primum. We may define the Philosophy of Religion as that synthesis of the Philosophy of God and of the Philosophy of Man and of the Philosophy of their natural and personal relations in which all facts relative to the attitude and bearing of each to the other find their rational explanation. Its aim is to harmon-

[1] Our most elaborate work in the English language, entitled an "Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," is that by Principal John Caird, of Glasgow University, published 1880. This, however, is rather an outline of a Philosophy of Religion than an introduction to it. Thus it first vindicates the possibility and propriety of a philosophic handling of Religion (Chapters I–III); then treats of the Necessity of Religion; the Proofs of the Existence of God; of the Religious Consciousness; of the Inadequacy of Religious Knowledge in the Unscientific Form; of the Transition of the Speculative Idea of Religion; of the Religious Life and Relation of Morality to Religion; and, finally, of the relation of the Philosophy to the History of Religion (Chapters IV–X). Under none of the above heads is the branch of learning to which the author proposes to introduce us defined as to matter, aim, method, or its relation to other branches of human investigation. On these points, however, more than any other, the beginner needs to be enlightened.

ize and unify, and thus to rectify and more perfectly interpret men's conceptions respecting the Subject, Object, and Essence of Religion. Its possibility is absolute, so far as facts and phenomena are concerned; relative and limited, however, when considered with reference to our limited knowledge and limited powers.

Ad secundum. The Philosophy of Religion, being the synthesis of the philosophy of the infinite and of the finite, necessarily stands at the summit of all philosophic disciplines, crowning and unifying the whole. It is the queen of all, and to her all are directly and logically tributary.

Ad tertium. The relation of the Philosophy of Religion to the History and to the Systematic Exposition of Religion has been briefly but perhaps sufficiently hinted in the closing remarks under Book I and Book II [pp. 43 and 54].

Ad quartum. The History of the Philosophy of Religion is well presented in the partially translated work of Pünjer. The student may profitably consult Otto Pfleiderer, "Philosophy of Religion," vols. i and ii.

Ad quintum. The Philosophy of Religion can be treated from as many fundamentally different subjective standpoints as any other branch of philosophy. Hence we must be prepared to see it treated by the most varied and antagonistic writers, each from his own peculiar point of view: agnostic, sensationalistic, idealistic, skeptic, mystic, eclectic, etc. And of this religion must not complain; it is only subject to the same fortune as befalls all subjects of human thought.

But besides these subjective standpoints there are also certain objective postulates which lead to treatments fundamentally diverse. Such postulates are those of materialistic monism, idealistic monism, undifferentiated monism, those of various forms of dualism, etc.

Among all these various standpoints and postulates it is the duty of every writer upon the Philosophy of Religion, first, to

make an intelligent and conscientious choice; then, having chosen, to define and vindicate his choice, and remain logically true to it.

Ad sextum. On the proper divisions and methods of a Philosophy of Religion little has as yet been written. Nor is it easy to set forth any single distribution of the matter or any single method for its treatment that can claim superiority in all respects over others. For since every related group of religious phenomena, however small and however isolated, demands at the hands of the interpreter of religion a rational explanation, it is evident that this department of study can be divided into an almost unlimited number of constituent branches, and that these are susceptible of almost any number of varying arrangements, combinations, and treatments, according to one's point of view and according to one's aim in the total construction.[1]

For our present purpose the most simple and lucid procedure will doubtless be to present, in three divisions, the Subject, the Object, and the Interrelations of the Subject and Object of Religion.

DIVISION FIRST

Human Personality in Its Relation to the Divine

This Division includes two Parts: the first conducting to the postulate of a Divine Personality, and the second to that in which this Divine Personality, when perfectly expressed, ultimates.

PART I

Human Personality, in its self-revelations, implies another Personality divinely perfect.

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[1] For German plans see works on "The Philosophy of Religion" by Pünjer (1886); R. Schultze (1886); Teichmüller (1868); Von Hartmann (1888); Rauwenhoff (1889); Sydel (1893); Siebeck (1893); Krause (1893); Hegel (Eng. tr. 1895); Runze (1901); A. Dorner (1903); Troeltsch (1906). Consult also the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, *sub voce*.

The study of Man, from the point of view of religion, calls for a consideration of at least four important problems, and these, with our solutions, may be formulated as in the following suggested chapters, to wit:

CHAPTER I

Nature of the human Subject? (Ontological Inquiry.)

Outcome: A living personality, neither self-originated nor self-sustained; needing, therefore, for the explanation of his being and life an adequate antecedent cause or combination of causes.

CHAPTER II

What causes are intimately connected with the origination and development of each human subject? (Etiological Inquiry.)

Outcome: As the proximate causes, the Parents are to be mentioned; as remoter, the Race which produces human parents; as remoter yet, the Universe of finite causes which produces and sustains all races of animate being. Furthermore, since all these causes interact and are mutually preadjusted for coöperation toward ends submoral and moral, this preadjustment itself also calls for an adequate cause.

CHAPTER III

What cause, moral or submoral, would adequately account for the existence of those preadjusted cosmic and human energies in virtue of whose action and interaction the human subject is produced and developed in character? (Ethico-cosmical Inquiry.)

Outcome: No cause other than an Intelligent Will, antedating humanity, and continuously expressing itself in the natural and ethical environment of every human being.

CHAPTER IV

What more adequately than anything else explains the purpose of the human world, and especially the rational significance of the universal human aspiration after fellowship with a nonhuman personality worthy of sincerest worship? (Teleological Inquiry.)

Outcome: The postulate of a beginningless and endless Personality, working from ethical aims, and effecting, under the forms of time and space, a perpetually on-going Self-manifestation or Self-revelation of Himself, in and unto finite intelligences.

PART II

The Self-revelation of God in and unto Man; issuing in the postulate of a Divine Incarnation.

The Self-revelation of God should be studied with reference to its primal motive, its law, its possible forms, and its possible consummation.

CHAPTER I

The Source or primal Motive of all normal Self-revelations.

Outcome: Unselfish love the only worthy Source or primal Motive of self-revelation in the personal sphere.

CHAPTER II

The Law of all normal Self-revelation of God.

Outcome: All self-revelations of the Infinite Personality to finite ones are modes of self-limitation; on the contrary, every right self-revelation of the finite personality to the Infinite is a mode of emancipation from self-limitations.

CHAPTER III

Forms of the Self-revelation of God.

Outcome: The forms of the self-revelation of God are determined partly by His own nature, partly by the counterbearing of those for whom the revelation is designed.

CHAPTER IV

The Self-revelation of God as affected by pious forms of self-surrender on the part of Man.

Outcome: The receptiveness and responsiveness of a man at any moment the gauge of the present possibilities of God's self-revelation to that man, but not the gauge of future possibilities.

CHAPTER V

The Self-revelation of God as affected by im-pious forms of self-surrender on the part of Man.

Outcome: The unreceptiveness and irresponsiveness of a man at any moment the gauge of the present barriers to God's self-revelation to that man, but not the gauge of future barriers.

CHAPTER VI

God's Self-revelation to Man in its intensive Perfection.

Outcome: The self-revelation of God to Man can reach intensive completion only in a divine Incarnation (God personally becoming a partaker of man's nature).

CHAPTER VII

God's Self-revelation in its extensive Perfection.

Outcome: The self-revelation of God to Man cannot be conceived of as ever attaining extensive completion. This would require not only the conception of a completed Humanity, but also that of a finished activity on the part of God.

DIVISION SECOND

The Divine Personality in Its Relation to the Human

This Division includes two Parts: the first conducting to the postulate of human Personalities, and the second to that in which human personality, when perfectly self-expressed, ultimates.

PART I

The Divine Personality, in its self-revelations, implies other personalities humanly imperfect.

The study of God, from the point of view of religion, calls for a consideration of at least four important problems, and these, with our solutions, may be formulated as in the following suggested chapters, to wit:

CHAPTER I

Assuming that God is the living and ever-living Personality described in the Division just outlined, and that the nature and forms of his self-manifestation are as there set forth, what explanation can be given of the existence and wide prevalence of Polytheism?

Outcome: The variety in human capacity for the apprehension of the

divine must not be forgotten. So long as men radically differ in their conceptions of the world, and of human nature itself, we need not be surprised that they also differ as to the number, and even as to the nature of the proper objects of worship.

CHAPTER II

But if men differ so utterly in their conceptions of their own nature, and of the world in which they live, and as to the number and nature of the beings entitled to worship, what unitary ground can there be warranting us in classifying all religions as species or varieties of one genus?

Outcome: Men are not unrelated units, but a race—one race—and all religionists hold that there is but one normal bearing for the worshiper to observe over against the being or beings he worships; this bearing being one of personal loyalty and sincere good will. In this fundamental doctrine polytheist and monotheist stand upon common ground.

CHAPTER III

But in case there has been in any worshiper, in any land, a conscious lack of personal loyalty and good will toward the being or beings worshiped, what is the result as shown in universal human experience?

Outcome: The prime result is a sense of personal guilt in the mind of the offender, and an impulse toward effort for deliverance from the guilt. Moreover, in the mind of such a worshiper there is never an expectation of deliverance by any subjective process or act limited to his own consciousness—he believes that the author or custodian of the obligation violated must have a part in the restoration of normal relations.

CHAPTER IV

What more adequately than anything else explains the unity and the multiformity of God's self-manifestations in the field of religion?

Outcome: The postulate of a Race of genealogically cohering, individually and coöperatively self-actualizing personalities, working from ethical and unethical aims, and effecting, under the forms of time and space, a perpetually on-going self-manifestation or self-revelation of itself and of its constituent personalities in and unto God.

PART II

The Self-revelation of Man in and unto God; issuing in the postulate of a human Indivination.

Unlike that of God, the self-revelation of a man is twofold, normal and abnormal. Some of his forms of self-assertion are pious, some are impious. The philosophy of the total revelation must include the one class as fully as the other.

Again, human self-manifestations are more than the term implies. They not only show what the self now is, but also help to determine what the self is hereafter to be.

CHAPTER I

Sin as a mode of Self-revelation.

Outcome: While unselfish love should be the primal motive in all self-revelation, selfish love is the primal motive in this.

CHAPTER II

The Law of sinful Self-revelation.

Outcome: The self-revelation being an unnatural one, its law is also unnatural: the revelation follows a law, not of emancipation, but of enslavement to unnatural self-limitations.

CHAPTER III

Forms of sinful Self-revelation.

Outcome: The forms of the sinful self-revelation of men are determined partly by their own nature, partly by the counterbearing of Him against whom these self-revelations are directed.

CHAPTER IV

Holy living as a mode of Self-revelation on the part of Man.

Outcome: Here man reaches the primal motive of God's self-revelation, a pure and unselfish love.

CHAPTER V

The Law of holy Self-revelation.

Outcome: Here man comes under the blessed law of progressive emancipation from self-limitations, and constantly increasing assimilation to God.

CHAPTER VI

Forms of holy Self-revelation on the part of Man.

Outcome: Every pious self-assertion on the part of man calls out new self-revelations on the part of God, and so renders possible new degrees and forms of holy self-revelation on man's part, and all this in indefinite successions of action and reaction.

CHAPTER VII

Man's Self-revelation in and unto God in its intensive Perfection.

Outcome: The self-revelation of Man in and unto God can reach intensive completeness only in a human Indivination (Man personally becoming a partaker of the divine nature).

CHAPTER VIII

Man's Self-revelation in and unto God in its extensive Perfection.

Outcome: The self-revelation of Man in and unto God cannot be conceived of as ever attaining extensive completion. This would require not only the conception of a completed Humanity, but also that of a finished activity on the part of the deathless sons of God.

DIVISION THIRD

The past, present, and future Interrelations of Object and Subject as determined and perpetually redetermined in the one vital historic movement or process of the World-Religion

We here face the sum total of the religious phenomena of the world. All these phenomena both imply and illustrate in one or more aspects the interrelation of God and man at one or more points in the historic process of the World-Religion.

PART I

The Interrelations of God and Man as seen in the Ideal.

This may be presented in various aspects, as in the following chapters:

CHAPTER I

Intellectual Interrelation as determined by ideally perfect reciprocal Self-revelations on the part of God and Man.

Outcome: Ideally perfect intellectual intercommunion of God and Man.

CHAPTER II

Emotional Interrelation as determined by ideally perfect reciprocal Self-revelations on the part of God and Man.

Outcome: Ideally perfect intercommunion of feeling between God and Man.

CHAPTER III

Volitional Interrelation as determined by ideally perfect reciprocal Self-revelations on the part of God and Man.

Outcome: Ideally perfect intercommunion of will and purpose between God and Man.

CHAPTER IV

The Ideal Interrelations in their vital unity.

Outcome: Since the ideally perfect self-revelation of God culminates in a divine Incarnation, and the ideally perfect self-revelation of Man culminates in a human Indivination, the ideally perfect Interrelations of God and Man in their vital unity are presented in no other religion than in the World-Religion, and in no other consciousness than that of the God-man.

CHAPTER V

Review of the Religions of the World, the ancient and the modern, in the light of ideally perfect Religion.

PART II

The Interrelations of God and Man as given in Christian Consciousness.

In proportion as the self-revealing man comes to a clear perception of the self-revealing God, in like proportion does he become conscious of an interrelation subsisting between himself and God. In case his own self-revelation is proceeding from an unholy principle, he is conscious that the relation between himself and the holy God is one of vital estrangement and opposition. On the other hand, if his own Godward bearing of mind and will and affection is the normal response of the creature to the care and benevolence and affection of his Creator, the mutual personal *Verhalten* results in a mutual personal *Verhältniss* as normal and blessed as the activities from which it proceeds and by which it is maintained. And this relationship of intercommunion and fellowship is more truly and vitally a matter of consciousness than can be a like relationship between two most intimate sharers in a human friendship.

The actual interrelations of a particular human soul and God are normal in proportion as they approximate the above-defined ideal.

The evolution of the Christian Consciousness has often been misrepresented. It differs in different persons—differs with respect to the successional order of experiences, and with respect to sudden or slow attainments of insight. It is in all cases a divine-human product, but many things are true of it in its maturity that are not true of it in earlier stages. Many teachers have failed to represent it correctly because of a failure on their part to perceive the dependence of one spiritual perception or experience upon another, or upon a preceding group. It is difficult to construct a description of the process which shall cover all cases in all stages of earthly development, but the following

covers at least a typical case, and gives due prominence to the *proportionality* of one element to another in the ever-growing result:

1. In order to the ultimate attainment of complete self-knowledge, and in order to the acquisition of the power to pass just judgments upon himself, every human being in the process of his development from infancy to maturity of reason has need of instruction from some source apart from himself.

2. In proportion as the developing human being, aided by true and wholesome instruction, becomes competent to form just judgments relative to his own physical, mental, and spiritual activities and qualities, in like proportion does he come to recognize the fact that, judged even according to his own ideals, he is to a greater or less extent culpably defective and imperfect—a being who, with more or less of voluntary consent, practically comes short of the possible perfections of his own life and character.

3. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being, perplexed by this discovery, struggles to comprehend the nature and implications and sanctions of his own ideals, and in conduct strives with redoubled earnestness to measure up to the best possibilities of his being, in like proportion does he become conscious of the presence and agency of an environing Personality all perfect and holy, a God in whom he lives and moves and has his being.

4. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being attains this consciousness of God and of his own natural and personal relations to God, in like proportion does he come to perceive that his own capacities for improvement are God-given, and that all instruction in or toward a holy development—whatever the name, or nature, or means of that instruction—is a form of Divine Revelation.

5. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being is thus brought to discern the manifoldness and continuousness of Divine Revelation, in like proportion does he come to recognize the fact that all history and all reality are but modes of a perpetual, all-inclusive Self-manifestation of the Divine.

6. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being is brought to this perception of the perpetually and universally progressing Self-manifestation of God, in like proportion does he come to expect in human nature and in the human sphere possibilities and instances of divine disclosure superior to any elsewhere discoverable.

7. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being thus comes to expect in human nature the highest known or as yet knowable forms of God's Self-manifestation, in like proportion does he reach the assured conviction that in God's eternal purpose humanity was intended to be an organ of the Divine, and that in the historic ripening of God's purpose in and through the agencies of his temporal kingdom there shall ultimately come to be a redeemed and renovated humanity, faultlessly expressive of the divine holiness, a habitation of God through the Spirit.

8. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being inspired by such an anticipation, searches through history to discover any foretokens of this consummation of all things in a divinized humanity, and especially to discover any individuals in whom the divinizing process may seem to have been anticipated and measurably foreshown, in like proportion does he come to fix upon Jesus of Nazareth as the one man in whom the divine indwelling and outshining are apparently complete—the one man best entitled to be considered an archetype of perfected humanity.

9. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being, moved by the sense of his own culpable imperfections, and by the inworkings of his divine environment, cordially surrenders him-

self to the divine activities and lovingly strives to become an organic yet most personal part of God's Self-manifestation in humanity, in like proportion does he find his personal ideals, aspirations, and activities coming into living conformity with those historically exemplified in Christ Jesus.

10. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being advances in this progressive conformity of ideals, aspirations, and activities to the ideals, aspirations, and activities of Jesus Christ, in like proportion does he become a living and more or less conscious partaker of the Spirit of Christ, the Comforter, who, according to promise, is given to guide into all truth.

11. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being thus becomes a living and conscious partaker of Christ's Spirit, in like proportion does he become conscious of a vital personal relation to all other partakers, and to that spiritual Kingdom or Church which these, together with their Head, vitally and organically constitute in the unity of the Holy Ghost.

12. Finally, in proportion as the instructed and developing human being, in his progressive unfoldment, in one order or another, passes up through these various steps and stages of the spiritual life—and only in that proportion—does he obtain a correct, a truly rational and real, insight into the nature, extent, and deadliness of sin, into the nature and need of an atonement, into the beauty of holiness, into the conscious blessedness of the life in God and of the life in the everlasting fellowship of God's children.

To the foregoing theses every Christian teacher in the world can consistently and cordially subscribe. And whoever in his own experience has come to all the insights above mentioned, and lives in the light of them, is certainly to be called a Christian. But a Christian of the broadest and most radical character cannot rest at this point. He finds in these propositions no consistent

and satisfying philosophy of three fundamental Christian truths, to wit: (1) the universality of human sin; (2) the sinlessness of Jesus Christ; and (3) the unity of that God into whose three divine names each Christian, in professing his faith, must be baptized. The great mass of thoughtful and earnest Christians, therefore, reach, and in all past Christian centuries have reached, additional convictions and insights on these points. But here, as before, the law under which insight is gained is a law of proportion, a law which may be approximately expressed in the three following propositions:

1. In proportion as the instructed and developing Christian learns to recognize the real solidarity of all naturally engendered human individuals, and their ideal solidarity in the one primal purpose and plan of the Creator to constitute them together one vitally interwoven, organic species or form of divine Self-manifestation, in like proportion does he come to the perception that a free and thoroughgoing self-closure of the earliest human beings to divine influence through sin could not fail to entail upon propagated human nature blindnesses and blights as far-reaching as the line of human generations—a self-centeredness of heart and will as hateful as hate and as deadly as death; and that, philosophically considered, the universality of sin in the experience of all peoples and ages must find its deepest, its most rational, explanation in something resembling the biblical doctrine of a primeval fall of man.

2. In proportion as the instructed and developing Christian comes to see in and back of all individual sin a universally transmitted, everywhere present race-characteristic—an inbred self-centeredness of will and affection which, so long as unchecked by outside powers, effectually disqualifies the individual and the race for their normal function of receiving and joyously manifesting forth the indwelling of Divinity—in like proportion does he come

to the perception that the supreme need of fallen humanity can have been no other than a creative reopening of itself to the divine incoming, and that the incarnation, or, better, the *Menschwerdung,* of God's Eternal Son, and the mission of the Comforter, constitute, as the New Testament teaches, the one all-sufficient and most gracious response of God to this necessity of his human creatures.

3. In proportion as the instructed and developing Christian, pondering the mysteries of speculative Theism and the relieving disclosures of biblical revelation, comes to apprehend, on the one hand, the inconceivableness of a unipersonal Absolute, and on the other the triunity of the historic Self-manifestation of God in and through the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in like proportion will his strained and almost baffled mind find growing relief and restful delight and holy confidence in some approximation, if not in full adhesion, to some form of the general Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

The above statements illustrate not only the growth of the Christian Consciousness, but also the fluency and growthfulness of the interrelations of the soul and God.

A full presentation of the Philosophy of the Christian Consciousness would require the elaboration of at least the following chapters:

CHAPTER I

Of Consciousness in general, and the self-evident Validity of its Deliverances.

CHAPTER II

The Legitimacy, Indispensableness, and Scientific Value of the Testimony of Consciousness in the realm of subjective religious Activities and Results.

CHAPTER III

The Contents of the genuinely Christian Consciousness.

PART III

The Interrelations of God and Man as determined and ever redetermined in the historic life of the World-Religion.

The interrelations of God and humanity in history have never for two successive moments remained fixed and unaltered. Since their beginning the flow of God's Self-revelation and the flow of Man's Self-revelation have been incessant. With each new heartbeat humanity itself becomes other than it was. Equally mutable and transmutable must be that vital relationship in which and under which the twain activities, the divine and human, endlessly persist.

Whoever in his own personal consciousness has known the abnormal relationship of blind hostility to God, and now in his own consciousness knows the blessedness of an established and ever-growing fellowship with God, has little difficulty with the problems of humanity's religious history. His own childhood typifies to him the childhood of his race. His own debasing paganisms fully interpret to him the most debasing paganisms

of mankind. Himself miraculously newborn of God, the miraculous birth at Bethlehem is more than credible. Himself possessor of the Holy Comforter, the spiritual history of the living Church would be to him a mystery but for its outstart from a world-historic Pentecost.

Again, to such a man, philosophies of history that ignore or reject the divine factor are self-refuted in advance. He sees that in proportion as the divine coefficient is overlooked the human is misconceived and distorted. History being the result of divine activity in and through men, and at the same time of men's activity in and through Deity, a consistently atheistic philosophy of history is as little conceivable as is a consistently ananthropistic.

The normal interrelations of God and man being found only in those souls in whom the divine-human fellowship and life have been reëstablished, it is only natural that the true knowledge of these interrelations is found only with these souls and with those whom they have instructed. Furthermore, it is only natural that all those who hold this knowledge merely as a matter of instruction should hold it as they hold other matters of human testimony; that is, not as genuine knowledge, but at best only as a theoretical and more or less questionable belief.

The genuine knowledge of the normal divine and human relationship is alone with them that stand in it, and stand in it consciously. The majority of them are dwelling in the heavenly places. Even with these it is a growing knowledge.

. . . . . .

From the days of the God-man the World-Religion has been teaching that there has been in the progress of history a certain succession of exceptionally important modifications in the Interrelations of God and humanity. As this teaching constitutes the philosophy of humanity's history according to the World-Religion, it here requires attention. The following enumeration presents the view, not only as it is in itself, but also as it stands

related to a larger conception of the total history of the moral universe:

I. The absolutely primal Interrelations of God and moral creatures anterior to all creaturely self-revelation in consciously and purposely good or evil self-assertion. (Monergistically and divinely determined. Not so much prehistoric as history-initiating.)

II. These Interrelations as modified in a prehuman world-æon, partly by creaturely self-revelation in consciously and purposely good and evil self-assertion, and partly by new forms of divine self-revelation appropriate to these creaturely self-revelations in good and evil. (So conceived, the new interrelations would have to be described as synergistically determined. Moreover, the creaturely contribution toward their determination would have to be conceived of as antithetically dual, that of evil creaturely coefficients and that of the good.)

III. These Interrelations as modified by the introduction of two race-bearing and race-representing creatures, of more than angelic possibilities, parents of unknown millions of moral creatures, proprietors of a world requiring ages for its roughest exploration, bearers of a divine image that was capable of becoming endlessly more divine, types and progenitors of a Seed in whom all the fullness of the Godhead should bodily dwell. Here, anterior to any conscious Godward self-revelation of these human creatures, we have the earliest interrelations of God and humanity. (As before, in the earlier beginning, they were divinely determined, independent of any agency of the newly created; but that they were divinely determined irrespective of earlier and contemporary non-human moral creatures and of the contribution of these to the quality and possibilities of the moral universe at the time is theistically unthinkable.)

IV. The same Interrelations as modified in the pre-Christian

world-æon partly by human self-revelation in consciously and purposely good and evil self-assertion, and partly by new forms of divine self-revelation appropriate to these human self-revelations in good and evil. (Increased complexity of coefficients, the human self-revelation both in evil and in good having been initially facilitated by prehuman and extrahuman creaturely agency.)

V. The same Interrelations as modified by the incarnation of the Son of God and the indivination of the Son of man. (Increasing complexity of coefficients, even the divine factor manifesting a trinally self-differentiated activity.)

VI. The same Interrelations as modified by the progressive incorporation of the Spirit of the God-man in believing humanity in earthly places, and the progressive excorporation of believing humanity in the same Spirit into the heavenly places. (Present post-Pentecostal world-æon. Coefficients: divine, hypostatic and monontologic; theanthropic; angelic, beneficent and maleficent; human, evil and good—each creaturely class, moreover, in "numbers without number.")

VII. The same Interrelations as yet to be remodified at the close of the present world-æon, when in the presence of the whole moral universe the reëmbodied race of God-imaging men, complete in all its members and now forever past all further self-multiplication, shall stand for the first time self-revealed in and before its self-revealed Author, and both, conscious of a oneness which neither life nor death eternal can destroy, face the unpicturable experiences of the endless beyond.

To us, catechumens in the World-Religion, this Philosophy of World-history seems difficult and high. Be it so. But a few more moons and we may study it under larger horizons, in the manifest presence of Him who himself was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

APPENDIX

I. THE NATURE AND NATURALNESS OF RELIGION

Question 1.—What is religion considered as to its essence or nature?

Answer.—First of all, let it be noted that in all religious phenomena man is the subject. Everywhere he it is that believes, he it is that feels, he it is that acts. However much religion may have to do with divine beings, it is never predicated of them. No man of any faith ever says, "My god is religious." By the term "religion" we always mean something of which man is the proper and the only proper subject.

Again, scrutinizing religious activities closely, we find that none of them properly terminate in or upon their subject; in every system they presuppose an object toward which they are directed. All religions assume the existence of one or more personal beings related to men and capable of being influenced by the personal bearing of men toward them. Every worshiper believes that the object of his worship is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him. Usually he believes not merely in the existence and in the present and future influence of his god, but also in certain noteworthy events of the past by which that god is personally related to universal, national, or tribal history, or it may be to the history of the worshiper himself; and thus he believes that at sundry times, and in divers manners, his god has revealed himself.

Now a man may have many such objects of worship, or only one; he may believe them to be most gracious or most wrathful; he may love them, or fear them, or hate them. No one of these things affects the fundamental fact that all his religious activities presuppose some definite religious belief, and are largely determined as to their character by the character of that belief. This, then, we will call the first necessary presupposition of religion—the idea of a personality or of personalities entitled to worship; the belief in his or their existence. Let us call it the *intellectual* presupposition.

Looking into the matter still further, one soon perceives that all religious acts involve the emotional and moral nature. The religious and irreligious are alike prompted in their activities by motives and states of heart of which they consciously predicate moral qualities. Moreover, when one considers that in all religions the great end of religious activities is to please the divinity worshiped, and that no divinity could feel

pleased with a worship either devoid of all feeling, or extorted in any way against the inclination of the worshiper, it is manifest that the state of the sensibilities presupposed in all normal religious action must be a voluntarily cherished one. Indeed, in order to effect a religious act in a normal manner, it may not be one of cherished aversion—it must be the state known as loving loyalty and trust. It has, therefore, in any case, an ethical character. Let us call this the *ethical* presupposition of all religion.

So far, then, we find nothing but presuppositions. Beliefs, right or wrong, do not constitute religion. They simply render it possible. I may believe in a god or in a million of them, but if I stop with the belief, it is impossible to predicate religion of me. This belief simply prepares me for the great life-test, whether I will be religious or not. I shall show myself religious or not according as I live up to my belief or fail to do so. Hence articles, creeds, confessions, theologic dogmas of any kind, are not religion; neither is the assent which men may give to them. Precisely so are we to distinguish between the feeling which men antecedently cherish toward an object of worship and their worship itself. The inclination to religion is not religion.

Let us come, then, to the acts themselves. Does religion, the essence of religion, consist in those acts of men which are called religious? Does it consist in prayers, preachings, vows, sacrifices, penances, shrine-building, the reading of holy books, fastings, scourgings, washings, processions, pilgrimages, etc.? Here again the answer must be, No. These acts are all outward. The man of deranged intellect, the blasphemer, the atheist, can go through them all. The hypocrite may perform every one of them for gain, the scoffer for sport. By themselves they are empty forms, possessing no virtue or meaning. Religious acts are not religion, but expressions of religion, manifestations of its presence, effects of its power. The tide should never be mistaken for attractional force of the moon.

But if religion is something human, a characteristic of man as a spiritual being, yet consists neither in religious beliefs, nor in religious feelings, nor in religious acts, what can it be? How shall we define it as to its real essential nature? After the foregoing analysis we are better prepared to answer this question. And first, though it may not consist in technical religious acts, it is something *active,* not *passive.* It is not a state of the man. Being religious is not suffering something, but doing something. It is true, we have no one active verb exactly expressing the full idea of religion, as, for example, I *relige;* but all that we do have expressive of the separate elements of religion, such as, I worship, I adore, I love and

serve God, I confess and deplore my sins, etc., plainly express that religion is something that the man does, not something that is done to him. Were it otherwise he would be the object instead of the subject of religion.

Again, this action is an intelligent and free action. It is not some blind necessary function, like the organic action of the heart and brain. No man is religious without knowing it, without meaning, choosing, preferring to be. Religion is an intelligent and free bearing[1] of the intelligent and free man.

Again, this bearing is distinguished from other intelligent and free bearings by its object. Every active bearing of man has reference to some object. Over against this stands the man, and his total personal action with reference to it constitutes his active bearing toward said object. Religion is a man's active bearing over against the divine being or beings in whose existence he believes.

Summing up, then, we may define religion as a man's total personal bearing with respect to his god, or gods. It presupposes, first, the idea of a god, or of gods, and a belief in his or their existence. This is the intellectual presupposition. Second, religion presupposes a desire and intent favorably to affect the divinity or divinities acknowledged, partly by deprecating his or their displeasure, partly by rendering the acceptable service which he, or they, are supposed rightfully to claim. This is the ethical presupposition. Now the intellectual presupposition determines the truth or falsity of any religion, the ethical its genuineness or spuriousness. True religion is necessarily conditioned upon true conceptions and beliefs respecting the object of worship. These differ so greatly that not all can be true. False religion is a religion whose intellectual presuppositions are false; that is, whose supposed object or objects of worship have no actual counterpart in the world of real existence. It follows that every man's religion is relatively true or false, according as his conceptions and beliefs with respect to the object of religion agree or disagree with reality. In like manner a man's religion is genuine, or not, according as he desires and intends it to meet the admitted claims of his divinity. If utterly destitute of such desire and intent, he is non-religious; if actuated by a contrary desire and intent, he is positively irreligious. If in the utter

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[1] The term "bearing" seems the best obtainable to express the real thing. Bearing expresses its essential activity without implying that it consists in definite outward acts. It also implies that habitualness and continuity which properly belong to the idea of religion, both in the individual person and in a social aggregate.

absence of such feeling he still performs religious acts, he is a formalist, usually also a hypocrite. If under the influence of a directly opposite feeling he still performs religious acts, he is positively sacrilegious. Genuinely religious in any faith is he only who earnestly desires, and according to his light endeavors, to please the god he worships.

Finally, religion ultimates in acts. All religious acts are reducible to two classes. The one class includes all acts prompted by man's sense of absolute dependence; the other, all acts prompted by his sense of absolute obligation. To the former belong all acts of prayer so far as these are appeals for divine help. To the latter belong all acts of service intended as a due response to a divine requirement. In the one class, man's consciousness of weakness finds expression; in the other, his consciousness of free yet responsible personal energy. Both are legitimate, equally so; and hence in well-balanced religion neither class will predominate over and suppress the other.

Ques. 2.—In order, then, to absolutely normal religion, what three things are indispensably necessary?

Ans.—First, it must be true; that is, the intellectual conceptions and beliefs of the subject respecting the object of religion must, so far as they go, correspond with reality. Second, it must be genuine; that is, must be prompted and attended by a sincere desire to satisfy said object, or objects. Thirdly, it must be well balanced in its outward expression, service neither suppressing prayer, nor prayer service. *A bearing over against the divine, true in its intellectual presupposition, genuine in its ethical presupposition, complete and symmetrical in its forms of expression, is entitled to the name of absolutely normal religion.* In the perfect love of the perfect God is found the flower and perfection of such religion. It presupposes a true knowledge, a right impulse, and issues in a well-balanced expression toward God and man.

Ques. 3.—What does the foregoing psychological analysis further show?

Ans.—The naturalness of religion in some form, and its needfulness. In every man there is a twofold consciousness: a consciousness of dependence and a consciousness of spontaneous energy. The one prompts to self-surrender, the other to self-assertion. This peculiarity exists, if not before, at least independent of, the earliest perceptions of any difference in ethical quality between the two forms of action, or between different exercises in the same form under different circumstances. But the

moment conscience pronounces its uncompromising moral judgment upon the two, or upon the differing expressions of the two, this antagonism becomes all the deeper and more intense. From the distraught subject it often extorts the anguished cry, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" There is thus in the most radical impulses of human nature a constitutional conflict. Self, the consciously free and active personality, spontaneously struggles to assert itself, to realize its will, to achieve its highest satisfaction. On the other hand, this same self-asserting Ego not only finds itself actually antagonized by beings and powers outside itself, but also discovers that its personal power is so limited and conditioned that it can realize its own will, and achieve its coveted satisfaction, only by the aid of this greater power, or sum of powers, outside itself. In this deepest and most central antinomy of human consciousness religion has its psychological basis, its living root. Viewed with respect to human nature alone, that is, apart from the author, sustainer, and governor of that nature, religion grows out of the instinctive effort of the soul to reconcile its own antagonistic impulses. *The true reconciliation is found in such a self-surrendering identification of the self-asserting soul with the superior objective power as at once freely and fully satisfies its consciousness of dependence and also enables it, through that very identification, to actualize its henceforth highest will and achieve its henceforth highest satisfaction.*

Ques. 4.—Wherein, at this point, is the superiority of the World-Religion seen?

Ans.—In this, that in it alone an all-perfect Object is so related to each Subject that the described and universally needed reconciliation can be made effectual. The true reconciliation just described is preëminently the Christian conception of religion. It is expressed in what Jesus says about first finding life by losing it. Had this deep teaching been first propounded by some heathen sage, our modern expounders of the philosophy of religion might well have lauded his profundity. The same idea is to a good degree shared by all thoroughly earnest monotheistic religionists. In experience these practically approach the full reconciliation of their naturally antagonistic impulses in proportion to their actual self-identification with that infinite personality on whom they feel their dependence, and who has absolute control over all that limits and embarrasses their normal, that is, their pious, self-assertion. That polytheists never attain it finds its philosophic explanation in three considerations:

(1) No one of their gods possessing infinite power and absolute control over all things, it is plain that no one of them can give to a self-surrendering soul an unlimited freedom of self-assertion. Were we, therefore, to grant the existence of all the gods of the polytheistic peoples just as they are conceived by their worshipers, we should still see, both in their individual finiteness and in their partial and conflicting claims and jurisdictions, a plain reason for the failure of all polytheistic religion to reconcile the native antagonism found in universal human consciousness. Still clearer is the case to all who hold that such gods are purely imaginary; that, being mere nonentities, they control none of the objective powers which oppose the worshiper's self-assertion. (2) Despairing of such reconciliation, many of these religionists have seen no road to peace and blessedness save in the utter suppression of the consciousness of dependence with all its impulses to self-surrender. As this, however, is in practice psychologically impossible, the result has been forms of religion in which the man is more prominent than the god, in which work overrides worship, and a stoical contempt and disregard of human limitations take the place of loyal and filial self-surrender. (3) Others, painfully convinced of the futility of seeking their supreme good in this direction, try the opposite road, and hope by an absolute suppression of self-activity, and by an absolute self-surrender to superior powers, to find the rest and peace of a perfect life. In pantheistic religions this idea is carried to such an extreme that their adherents expect full blessedness only in, and by means of, a personal reabsorption into the impersonal Absolute. Both these ideas being utterly at war with the very nature of the soul, in which nature the instinct of self-assertion and the consciousness of self-insufficiency are equally indestructible, it is not strange that those who act upon them fail of finding inward peace and rest and blessedness.

Ques. 5.—How does religious activity tend to modify itself?

Ans.—The foregoing view of the psychology of religion would still be very defective were it to overlook the reflex influence of the religious activity upon the soul, and thus in turn upon itself. For while in the natural order of thought religious conceptions, beliefs, feelings, and purposes precede and shape that Godward bearing of the soul which we style religion, it is equally true that in fact the Godward bearing itself reacts upon these antecedents, modifying them in various important respects. For example, let us suppose that a soul has just received its first distinct conception of a rightful object of worship, and experienced the

first promptings of feeling to attempt the securement of his favor. Suppose that under this prompting he sincerely and earnestly attempts what he supposes to be a normal bearing over against this being, and soon after experiences what are to him encouraging tokens that his service or prayer is acceptable. This experience immediately affects his conception of the god. The element of benignity in that conception at once becomes more prominent and lustrous. Then, as by similar experiences in his religious life he practically tests his divinity's faithfulness or unfaithfulness, his compassion or cruelty, his longsuffering or pettishness, the worshiper's conception takes on greater and greater definiteness, until at length he comes to feel intimately acquainted with the being who at first was to him little more than a mere abstract idea. Especially is this the case where the worshiper discovers such a degree of uniformity in what he regards as manifestations of his divinity's favor or disfavor as enables him to draw confident conclusions respecting his character. Where this is not the case the influence of religious activity may be to confuse and weaken a conception which at an earlier time was clear and confidently believed in by the individual. It is, indeed, conceivable that by being religious a man should become an atheist. For if, in response to long-continued efforts to observe a normal bearing over against his god, he experiences nothing which he can recognize as a decisive manifestation of divine favor or disfavor, wrath or love, he may finally arrive at the conclusion that his supposed god can do him neither harm nor good, yea, that he is a mere phantasm of his own imagining. Thus the practice of religion may not only modify a man's original conception of the proper object of worship, but may also on the one hand confirm, or on the other undermine, his faith in the reality of that object.

A similar reflex influence exerted by religion upon its ethical presupposition should here be noted. The disposition to be religious is affected by being religious. In a normal religious activity it is easy to see that this disposition must be constantly intensified, and this in two ways. First, by the law of habit, which applies to the sensibilities and will, as strongly as to any other powers of man; and secondly, in virtue of the desirable results of normal religious activity. This beneficent law of progressive intensification, however, renders it possible for a man to grow irreligious by the practice of religion. For if his religion is false, and hence fruitless, as some forms of religion must be, this fruitlessness, continually disappointing and baffling, may also at length imbitter him, and thus induce a state of feeling so abnormal that he shall no longer even care to please

his divinity. Indeed, this experience and this imbitterment may go so far that while still holding with unshaken intellectual confidence to the existence of his god, the man may positively hate and insult him. Whether in a false religion this shall be the result of religious activity, or the atheism mentioned above, depends greatly, perhaps mainly, on the relative strength of the intellectual and emotional natures in the subject. If the intellectual predominate, the tendency will be toward atheism; if the emotional, it will be toward impiety.

Ques. 6.—In what ways may the religious activity be modified by an ideally perfect Object of religion?

Ans.—From the foregoing analysis it is evident that there are three ways in which an ideally perfect Object of religion may affect the bearing of his Subject:

1. By affecting the presuppositions. When by an inner spiritual operation he clarifies and intensifies the intellectual presupposition, that is, the man's apprehension of God and duty, religious teachers call this "enlightenment." When the divine inworking thoroughly affects the emotional and ethical nature, the result is that change of spiritual feeling and purpose designated by the term "regeneration," or new birth.

2. The action of the Object of religion may coexist with that of the Subject in and along with his active bearing itself, and so affect its character and intensity. Christian, and nearly all other, theists hold to such a working of God in the worshiper, not only antecedently to illuminate and waken, but also thereafter to will and to do of his own good pleasure.

3. The Object of religion may actively affect the expression or outward manifestations of religion: (*a*) by preceptively prescribing the forms and duties in and under which he desires to be worshiped; (*b*) by inclining the worshiper either by providential circumstances, or by his secret influence upon the soul, to give manifestation to its religious activity predominantly in this mode or in that.

In an ideally perfect religion we should antecedently expect to find all the here described modes of divine inworking.

Ques. 7.—How is the truth or reality of this interior presence and divine working conceived of in the highest form of the World-Religion?

Ans.—As self-evidencing. "Hereby we know that he abideth in us by the Spirit that he hath given us."

Ques. 8.—How does James Russell Lowell express the thought?

O Power more near my life than life itself—
Or what seems life to us in sense immured—
Even as the roots, shut in the darksome earth,
Share in the tree-top's joyance, and conceive
Of sunshine and wide air and wingèd things
By sympathy of nature, so do I
Have evidence of thee so far above,
Yet in and of me! Rather thou the root
Invisibly sustaining, hid in light,
Not darkness or in darkness made by us.
If sometimes I must hear good men debate
Of other witness of thyself than thou,
As if there needed any help of ours
To nurse thy flickering life, that else must cease,
Blown out, as 't were a candle, by men's breath,
My soul shall not be taken in their snare,
To change her inward surety for their doubt
Muffled from sight in formal robes of proof:
While she can only feel herself through thee,
I fear not thy withdrawal; more I fear,
Seeing, to know thee not, hoodwinked with dreams
Of signs and wonders, while, unnoticed, thou,
Walking thy garden still, commun'st with men,
Missed in the commonplace of miracle.

—*Closing lines of "The Cathedral."*

Ques. 9.—What says Whittier of it, in the lines entitled "Our Master"?

Immortal love, forever full,
  Forever flowing free,
Forever shared, forever whole,
  A never-ebbing sea!

In joy of inward peace, or sense
  Of sorrow over sin,
He is his own best evidence,
  His witness is within.

II. A QUEST OF THE PERFECT RELIGION

One day, years ago, as I was walking up one of the main streets of Tokyo, I encountered an experience not soon to be forgotten. My companion, who was the American minister to the Mikado's court, was pointing out to me at a considerable distance a large hall, called the Meiji Kuaido, and explaining that though now belonging to the government, it was originally built in a spirit of opposition to Christian missions and was designed to be a kind of headquarters for all who wished to rehabilitate the old religions, or in any way to oppose the spread of the Christian faith. While he was narrating some incidents connected with it we came nearer and nearer, but soon found our further progress blocked by an altogether unprecedented crowd of people, evidently made up of the most diverse nationalities. It filled not only the approaches to the building, but also the whole street for some distance in front and on either side. Upon inquiry we learned that a convention of quite unusual interest was in progress and that all these people whom the building could not contain were waiting to learn what they could of the progress of the deliberations within. One man kindly showed us a copy of the call under which the assembly had been brought together. At its top I read these words: "World's Convention for the Definition and Promulgation of a Perfect and Universal Religion." The provisions under which the delegates were to be appointed, and the Convention organized, were carefully drawn and admirably adapted to secure a most weighty and representative body. Nearly every religion and sect I had ever heard of—except the Christian—was named and provided for. Of course I was at once intensely interested to see so rare a body—the first of its kind in the history of the world. But the crowd was so dense I was almost in despair. Fortunately, in our extremity two stout policemen recognized my companion, and, knowing his ambassadorial character, undertook to make a way for us and to bring us into the hall. The struggle was long and severe, but at last our faithful guides succeeded in edging us into an overcrowded balcony to a standing place from which nearly the whole body of the delegates could be seen. Never can I forget that many-hued and strangely clad assembly. Nearly every delegation had some sacred banner, or other symbol, by which it might be distinguished. In the center of the hall was the yellow silken banner of the Chinese Dragon. On the left I saw the crescent of Islam; on the right the streamers of the Grand Lama of Tibet. Not far away was the seven-storied sacred umbrella of Burmah, and be-

yond it the gaudy feather-work of a dusky delegation from Ashantee. In one corner I even thought I recognized the totem of one of our Indian tribes of Alaska.

On the program there were five questions, each evidently framed with a view to make its discussion and answer contribute toward the common end, the definition of a perfect and universal religion. The first read as follows: "Can there be more than one perfect religion?" The opening of the discussion of this had been assigned to a great Buddhist teacher from Ceylon. The second question, to be opened by a Mohammedan, was, "What kind of an object of worship must a perfect religion present?" The third was assigned to a Taoist, and was thus formulated: "What must a perfect religion demand of, and promise to, the sincere worshiper?" The fourth, assigned to a Hindu pundit, was the following: "In what relation must the divine object and the human subject stand to each other in a perfect religion?" The fifth and last question read: "By what credentials shall a perfect religion, if ever found, be known?" The honor and responsibility of opening this last and highest of the proposed discussions was reserved to the official head of the Shinto priesthood of Japan, the highest representative of the ancestral faith of the empire.

As soon as my friend and I could get our bearings, we were pleased to find that only one of the questions had been discussed and acted upon by the Convention before our arrival. We were told that the assembly had been opened by the president designated in the Call; and that nothing on earth was ever more impressive than the three minutes of silent prayer which followed the uplifting of the chairman's hand and eye. After this there had been a brief address of welcome from the Committee of Arrangements, a few words of thanks from the president in response; then a short opening address by the president, and the introduction of the distinguished Buddhist representative from Ceylon, who was to discuss the question, "Can there be more than one perfect religion?" To a Buddhist, there could be, of course, but one answer to this question, and that a negative. But he argued it—as our informants told us—with wonderful tact as well as power. He kept the qualification "perfect" so prominently before his hearers' minds that however accustomed any of them might be to think and say that there may be and are many good religions, none could fail to see that of *perfect* religions there could be but one. He also carefully abstained from identifying his own system with the perfect religion, and thus avoided the mistake of exciting the jealousy of rival religionists. So complete had been his success, that after a short discus-

sion in which several very diverse speakers participated, a venerable Parsee had moved, and just before our arrival the Convention had unanimously adopted, the following resolution: "*Resolved,* That in the opinion of this World's Convention there can be but one perfect religion."

While we were getting hold of these facts we lost the president's introduction of the second preappointed speaker. We soon learned, however, that he was the senior moulvie of the great Mohammedan University at Cairo, a school of Islam in which there are all the time about ten thousand students in preparation for the duties of public religious teachers and chanters of prayers. His piercing eye and snow-white beard and vigorous frame would have made him anywhere a man of mark. Seated after his manner of teaching in the mosque upon a low bamboo frame, clad in his official robe, he looked like a resurrected Old Testament prophet—an Isaiah in living form before us. At first I wondered if he would be able to speak to so modern a question as the one assigned him—"What kind of an object of worship must a perfect religion present?"

Time would fail me were I to attempt to report with any fullness his rhythmic speech. It was Oriental through and through—quaint, poetic, full of apothegms, proverbs, parables—but it conclusively answered the question. He made even the feather-decked gri-gri worshipers of Western Africa see that a god who knows much about his worshiper, and can do great things for him, is more perfect than a god who knows little and can do but little. Then arguing up and up, he made it plain to every intelligence that a perfect religion necessarily demands a god possessing all knowledge and all power. It becomes a perfect religion only by presenting to the worshiper, as the supreme object of obedience, love and service, a perfect being. He showed also that perfection in an object of worship required that it be a living object, that it have intelligence, rational feelings, and purposes—in a word, that it possess real and complete personality. It must be possible to address him as a personality. He needs to be in every place, to be before all things, in all things, above all things. Limit him in any respect and the religion you present becomes less than perfect.

This was the thought stripped of all its weird and Oriental adornments. But as he expanded and enforced it his eye kindled and his chantlike speech rose and fell, and rose and fell, until we hardly knew whether we were in the body or out of the body, so wondrous was the spell wherewith he had bound us.

He was followed by an eloquent representative of the Brahmo Somaj,

and he in turn by a Persian Babist, both of whom argued in the same line with such effect, that when a picturesquely turbaned representative of the religion of the Sikhs gained the floor and moved that it be the sense of the Convention that a perfect religion must present a perfect god, the whole vast assembly was found to be a unit in affirming this grand declaration.

Next, of course, came the third question: "What must a perfect religion demand of the sincere worshiper, and what must it promise to him?" To open its discussion the appointed Taoist teacher was politely introduced. As his noble form advanced quietly to the front of the platform in the costume of a Chinese mandarin of the highest rank, it was at once evident that the better side of Taoism was to be represented—the ideas of the Tao-teh-king, and not the superstition and jugglery of modern popular Taoism.

He began by saying that it seemed proper for him to start out from the point where the preceding discussion had stopped, the Convention having already voted that there could be but one perfect religion, and that this religion in order to be perfect must present a perfect object of worship. With both of these propositions he said he was in full accord, provided only that it be constantly borne in mind that the whole discussion related to a purely abstract or hypothetical question.

"Now," said he, "if a man really had a perfect object of worship, it is plain that his duty toward it would be very different from that he owes to any of those finite and limited and imperfect divinities which we and our fathers have been accustomed to worship. Our duties to these, and their duties to us, are more analogous to our duty to observe courtesy toward our fellowmen and kindness toward those below us. The moment we picture to ourselves a perfect God, the maker, upholder and governor of all beings, Lord even of the celestial and terrestrial spirits whom we are in the habit of worshiping, that moment we see that the worship of such a being would of necessity be something very different. As giver of all our powers and possibilities, he could justly demand that we employ them all for the accomplishment of the purpose for which he gave them. Indeed, were he a perfectly rational being, it would seem impossible that he should require less.

"On the other hand, such a being would of necessity possess both the power and the inclination to give to his sincere worshiper the perfect fruit of genuine piety. This can be nothing less than perfect virtue, and even exquisite delight in virtue. In a perfect piety all self-conflict, all internal

resistance to good, all self-will must be absolutely and totally eliminated. All fear—even of that perfect Being—would have to be absent; nay, it would have to be transmuted into eager unintermittent love. On the other hand, how unutterably would a perfect object of worship love and bless a perfectly sincere worshiper!"

After many other touching words, particularly upon the woeful contrast between the ideal and the actual in life, and upon the arduousness of the struggle for virtue under every religion, he closed by submitting the following proposition for the further consideration of the Convention: "*Resolved,* That a perfect religion will have to demand of man a perfect surrender of will and life to a perfect object of worship, and will have to promise him a perfect freedom and satisfaction in the life of goodness."

A Sufi from Ispahan, a Theosophist from Bombay, and various other speakers followed, all very nearly agreeing with the first, but some of them preferring a different wording of the resolution. Various amendments were proposed and discussed, until at length the following substitute was offered: "*Resolved,* That if a perfect religion were possible to imperfect men, it would require of the worshiper a perfect devotion to a perfect god, and would demand of the perfect god a perfect ultimate beatification of the worshiper." This was unanimously and even enthusiastically adopted.

Question four was now in order. The president rose and said: "The fourth question reads as follows: 'In what relation must the divine object and the human subject stand to each other in a perfect religion?' The discussion of this question is to be opened by one who has himself ofttimes been the recipient of divine worship, and who represents an ancient and powerful priesthood believed by millions to be a real embodiment of the one divine and eternal Spirit. I have the honor to present to the Convention the venerated head of all the sacred houses of the Brahmans in the holy city of Benares."

Calm as his own imposing religion, yet keener than any who had preceded him, the Hindu addressed himself to his allotted task. For twenty minutes he held every eye and commanded every mind. How shall I give you any conception of that captivating discourse? The following is but the barest thread to intimate the great truths touched upon by his master hand.

He began by saying that *some* personal relationship between the worshiper and the worshiped was necessarily involved in the very idea of worship. In this act the worshiper is thinking of the object of his worship, otherwise he is not worshiping. So the being worshiped is thinking

of his worshiper, otherwise he is not receiving the worship. Here, then, is mutual simultaneous thought. Each has a place in the consciousness of the other. To this extent they possess a common consciousness. In this fellowship of mutual thought they are mutually related; by it they are vitally and personally connected.

This connection may, of course, be of two kinds. If the god is angry with his worshiper, or the worshiper with his god, the relationship is one of hatred and antagonism. If, on the other hand, it is a relation of mutual inclination—the man sincerely seeking to please his god, and the god sincerely seeking to bless his worshiper—it is, of course, a relationship of amity, of good fellowship, of mutual love. But all religions agree that the first of these relationships, that of enmity and estrangement, is abnormal, one which ought not to be. All religions aim to remove or to transform such a relationship wherever it exists. It is, therefore, plain that the perfect religion, if there be one, must require and make the personal relationship between the worshiper and the worshiped a relation of mutual benevolence—a relation of mutual love. Nowhere can there be a perfect religion if the man do not sincerely love his god, and if the god do not sincerely love his worshiper.

Here the speaker raised a most interesting question as to degree. To what extent ought this love to go? There could be but one answer. In a perfect religion the love of the worshiper for the worshiped must, of course, be the strongest possible, particularly as the worshiped is himself all-perfect, and hence all-worthy of this love. So, on the other hand, the love of the worshiped toward the worshiper ought to be the very strongest possible. What, then, is the strongest possible love which the divine can bear to the human and the human to the divine?

I cannot enough regret that my limits compel me to suppress his discussion of this pregnant question. I can only say that from point to point he carried the convictions of his vast audience until he had triumphantly demonstrated three far-reaching propositions: (1) That the ever higher and more perfect devotion of a worshiper can never reach its supreme intensity until he is ready, and even desirous, to merge his very will and life and being in the will and life and being of the all-perfect object of his worship. (2) That the gracious disposition of the object worshiped toward the worshiper can never reach its supreme intensity until the worshiped being is ready, and desirous, to descend from the divine form and mode of being and, in an abandon of compassionate love, take on the form and the limitations of his human worshiper. (3) That in a perfect re-

ligion the human subject and the divine object must be set in such relations that it shall be possible for God to become a partaker of human nature, and for man in some sense to become a partaker of the divine nature.

Profound was the silence which followed this wonderful discourse. The first to break it was a professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo, a man who, though of European birth, was in complete sympathy with the purposes of the Convention. After highly complimenting the Brahman speaker, he said that he himself had long been an admiring student of India's sacred books. With the permission of the Convention he would like to recite a few lines from one of them, the Isa Upanishad, which seemed to him admirably to express the true relation subsisting between the worshiping soul and the Infinite. He then gave the following:

Whate'er exists within this universe
Is all to be regarded as enveloped
By the great Lord, as if wrapped in a vesture.
There is one only being who exists
Unmoved, yet moving swifter than the mind;
Who far outstrips the senses, tho' as gods
They strive to reach him; who himself at rest
Transcends the fleetest flight of other beings;
Who like the air supports all vital action.
He moves, yet moves not; he is far, yet near;
He is within this universe. Whoe'er beholds
All living creatures as in him, and him—
The Universal Spirit—as in all,
Henceforth regards no creature with contempt.

"Now here," continued the professor, "here we have the true conception admirably expressed. Because the Universal Spirit is in all things, even in the worshiper, and on the other hand all things, even the worshiper, are in this Universal Spirit, it is more than possible—it is inevitable—that the divine should have participancy in the human and the human in the divine. Few of the great religions of the world have failed to recognize in some way this basal truth. Even the Shamans of the barbarous tribes claim to exercise divine powers only when personally possessed of divine spirits. In Tibet the faithful see in the distinguished head of their hierarchy the Dalai Lama—with whose presence we to-day are honored—a true divine incarnation. For ages here in Japan the sacred person of the

Mikado has been recognized as a god in human form. The founders of nearly all great religions and states have been held to be descendants, or impersonations, of the gods. In like manner the apotheosis of dying emperors, Roman and other, shows how natural is the faith that good and great men can take on the nature and the life divine. Ask India's hundreds of millions. They all affirm that every human being may aspire to ultimate and absolute identification with God. The even more numerous followers of the Buddha hold that, in his enlightenment, Sakya Muni was far superior to any god. Now, if such are the conceptions of the actual religions, how certain is it that the ideal, the perfect religion, must provide a recognition of them! I move you, Mr. President, that the propositions of our Brahman orator from Benares be adopted as the voice of this Convention."

No speaker appearing in the negative, the motion was put and carried without dissent.

Thus, with astonishing unanimity, the assembly had reached the final question upon the program, "By what credentials shall a perfect religion be known?"

Intenser than ever grew the interest of the delegates. On the answer to this question hung all their hopes as to any practically useful outcome from the holding of this great Ecumenical Convention. Doubly intense was the interest of the onlooking Japanese, for here, in the presence of the world's religions, the highest and most authoritative religious voice of their own empire was now to be heard. Breathless was the entire throng as the speaker began:

"Hail to the Supreme Spirit of Truth. Praise to the Kami of kamis—the living essence of the ever-lasting, ever-living Light.

"Why are we here, brothers from all climes, why are we here in serious search for the one true and perfect Way? It is because He, in whom are all things, and who is in all things—as sang that Hindu poet—is yearning with ineffable affection to be known of us, his earthly offspring, and to know us as his own. Only lately have I learned this secret. Only since my invitation to address this World's Convention have my eyes been opened to the blessed truth. Never before had I been led to meditate upon the necessary implications of a religion absolutely perfect. In preparation for my question I was compelled thus to meditate. Scarce had I addressed myself to my task before I began to see what you have seen, and to lay down the propositions which you to-day in due succession have been laying down. I could not help discerning that there can be but one

religion truly perfect; that a religion can never be perfect unless it present a perfect God; that no religion can be perfect which does not deliver man from sin and death and dower him with pure and everlasting blessedness. I could not help perceiving that no religion could ever claim perfection in which any gulf is left unfilled between the worshiper and the object of his worship. Oppressed and almost overwhelmed by these great thoughts, convinced that there was no such perfect religion in existence, nor any credential by which it could be known, I was yesterday morning alone, in a favorite hermitage by the sounding sea, near Yokohama. The whole night I had passed in sleeplessness and fasting. No light had dawned upon my mind. To cool my fevered brain, I strolled upon the seashore up and down, and listened to the solemn beatings of the billows on the sand.

"Here, in one of my turns, I fell in with a stranger—a sailor fresh from his ship. In conversation I quickly learned that he had followed the sea from early life, that he had been quite round the world, and had seen more wonders than any man it had ever been my fortune to meet. Long time we talked together of lands and peoples underneath the world and all around its great circumference. Repeatedly I was on the point of opening my heart to this plain man and of asking him whether in all his world-wide wanderings he had anywhere found a religion more perfect than that of our ancestors. Every time, however, I checked myself. I was confident that he would not long remain in ignorance of my character and office, and how could I, chief priest of my nation, betray to him such doubt as this my question would imply? I was too proud to place myself in such an attitude of personal inquiry. And yet perpetually this thought recurred: This man has seen cities and mountains and rivers and peoples which I have never seen, and I feel no humiliation in being a learner in these things—why hesitate to ascertain if in religion he may not equally be able to give fresh light and information? At last I broke my proud reserve, and said: 'You must have seen something of the chief religions of the whole world as well. Now, which among them all strikes you as the best?'

"'I have seen but one,' was the laconic reply.

"'What mean you?' I rejoined. 'You have told me of a score of peoples and lands and cities whose temples you must have seen, and whose rites you must have witnessed.'

"'There is but one religion,' he repeated.

"'Explain,' I demanded of him again.

"'How many do you make?' he said, evading my question.

"I paused a moment. I was about to answer, 'At least a larger number than there are of different tribes and peoples,' but in my hesitation I was struck by the strange agreement between his enigmatic utterance and my own previous conclusion that there could be but one perfect religion. Someway I yielded to the impulse to mention the coincidence. 'Do you mean,' I added, 'that there can be but one religion worthy of the name?'

"My sacrifice of pride had its reward. It won an answering confidence, and unsealed the stranger's lips.

"'Have you time,' he said, 'to hear a sailor's story? More than sixty years ago I was born in a beautiful home hard by the base of our holy mountain, the Fusijama. This very evening I start to visit the scenes of my boyhood, after an absence of more than forty years. My father and mother were persons of deep piety, and from the first had dedicated me, as the firstborn, to the service of the gods. At an early age I was placed in the care of a community of priests who kept one of the chief shrines of my native province. Here I was to be trained up for the same holy priesthood. For some years I was delighted with my companions, with my tasks, and with my prospects. But at length, as I grew more and more mature, and as my meditations turned oftener upon the mysteries of the world and of life, an inexpressible sadness gradually mastered me. I shrank from the calling to which I had been destined. I said to myself, "How can I teach men the way of the gods when I know it not myself? How long have I yearned to find the way of peace and the way of virtue! How long have I cried unto all the kami of heaven and all the kami of earth to teach it me! Yet even while I see the good I love that which is not good. I do myself the things which I condemn in others. I teach others to be truthful, but before an hour has passed I have lied to myself—have done or said what I had promised myself I would not. I love myself more than I love virtue, and then I hate myself because I love myself so well. I am at war within. O who shall deliver me, who can give me peace?"

"'As time passed on I became more and more the prey of this consuming melancholy. The time was at hand when my period of pupilage was to end and I was to be given the dignity of full admission to the sacred priesthood. The night before the day appointed for the ceremony my agony was too great for human endurance. Under the friendly cover of the darkness I fled from the sacred precincts of the temple, fled from the loving parents and friends who had come to witness my promotion.

A wretched fugitive, I arrived at this very port which now stretches itself out before our eyes. Here I shipped as a sailor and sought the uttermost parts of the earth.

"'Years on years I kept to the high seas, always choosing the ships which would take me farthest from the scenes with which I had become familiar. All great ports I visited, many a language I learned. Steadily I prayed the gods some time to bring me to some haven where I might learn the secret of a holy peace within.

"'At last one day—I can never forget it—in a great city many a thousand miles toward the sunrise, a city which is the commercial metropolis of the greatest republic in the world—I was pacing heavy-hearted up and down a massive pier at which lay vessels from many a nation. The wharves were perfectly quiet, for it was a holy day. I was sadder than usual, for I was thinking of my useless prayers. I was saying to myself: "I am as blind as ever, as much at war within. So many, many years have I prayed and waited and waited and prayed. The gods have neither brought me to the truth nor the truth to me." In my bitterness I said: "The gods themselves are false; men's faith in them is false. There are no gods, there can be none. They would have some compassion, they would regard my cries." Bursting into tears, I sobbed out: "I cannot live in such a world. I cannot live. Let me but sink in death's eternal night." And as I sobbed out the bitter cry the rippling water in the dock sparkled in my eyes and seemed to say, "Come, come, one brave leap only, and I will give thee peace!"

"'Just then a handsome stranger, arrested perhaps by my strange behavior, stopped in passing and spoke to me. In words of tender sympathy he asked my trouble. Too weak to resist, I told him all. How beamed his face with gladness! "Come with me," he said. "This very day your year-long prayers are to be answered." I followed, and a few rods distant he showed me what I had never seen before, a floating temple which he had in charge. It was dedicated, I was told, to the great God. And when I asked which great god, the priest of the beaming countenance said, "Have you never heard of the great King above all gods?" Then he brought out a Holy Book and read to me these words: "O come let us sing unto the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms. For the Lord is a great God and a great King above all gods. In his hand are the deep places of the earth; the strength of the hills is his also. The sea is his and he made it, and his

hands formed the dry land. O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our maker. He is our God, and we are the people of his pasture and the sheep of his hand."

"'Then this strangely joyful man—Hedstrom was his name—told me that this great God did truly care for every man who truly yearns for inward peace. He said he was a rewarder of all who diligently seek him; that he so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son for the saving of all who want to be saved from sin, from self-condemnation and despair. He assured me over and over that this divine Son was both able and willing to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through him. I could hardly believe such tidings. I said, "You mean that all your countrymen who thus come to your patron God may find peace and divine favor." "No," he responded, "I mean all—mean you—mean everybody whom this great Being has made to dwell on all the face of the earth, for as the Holy Book says: 'There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.'"

"'"But do you mean that I can call upon him and be delivered from this load I have carried so many years?"

"'"Certainly."

"'"And be delivered now?"

"'"Certainly. 'Now,' says the sacred Book, 'is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.'"

"'It was enough. Down I fell upon my face. Aloud I cried unto the Great God. Through his Son I sought to come unto him. But, believe me, before I could well frame my words—it *was* the day of salvation. My weary load was gone. My heart was full of peace and of strange new life. I knew that there exists a Power which can deliver man and plant within him everlasting blessedness.'

"Gentlemen of the World's Convention, one word, and the story of that wanderer is complete. That truant sailor proved to be my own elder brother, proved to be the long lost son to fill whose vacant place my mourning parents had dedicated me to this same holy calling. My heart was broken with a double joy at this discovery. And before we left that wave-worn shore the day of salvation had also dawned on me. To-day I can testify that a perfect religion is not a dream. To-day I possess and can give you its credentials."

Just at this point in the speaker's remarks the long-continued closeness

of the atmosphere and the crushing pressure of the crowd proved more than I could bear. A certain dizziness came over me and I had to be carried from the hall. When I next came to consciousness it took me a long, long time to discover that I was safe at home in my study chair, and that I was waking from a weird and wonderful dream.

Shall I interpret my dream? You have well-nigh done it already. Indeed, it interprets itself. The great hall, corresponding to the Meiji Kuaido, is the great world of our modern civilization. Within it are assembled the elect spirits of every nation. About its doors hang millions of our humanity, conscious of their own lack of light and truth, awaiting the discoveries of their better qualified representatives. Within, the highest, the never-ceasing debate relates to Human Perfection, and to the means for its attainment. The ever-eloquent debaters dwell now upon one phase or force, and now upon another, but the theme is ever the same, ever the perfection of human beings and the way to this perfection. Some are seeking a perfect industrial adjustment, others a perfect education, others a perfect government, others a perfect social order, others—that they may combine and unify all—are in quest of a perfect religion. Each one of you, dear hearers, is about to receive appointment as a delegate to this World Convention. Therein some of you will be called upon to speak, all of you will be called upon to vote, in the presence of a hundred nations. The World Convention will insist on knowing what you can tell it respecting its supreme problem. And you will have to meet the demand in a publicity as wide as the world. The days of personal and national isolation are forever gone. Under the same roof with our vanishing American aborigines, within earshot of the moans of Africa, in full view of the cruel idolatries of Hindustan, in full knowledge of the hungry-souled millions of China, in the face of Europe's self-sophisticated and gloomy agnosticism—in the hush of an Almighty Presence—you, each one of you, is going to tell the world what you know respecting human perfection and the road to its attainment. As thoughtful students you must long ago have seen that there can be but one absolutely true and perfect religion; further that the perfect religion must present a perfect object of worship, that it must demand of man his highest devotion, and must promise to man his highest good. Long ago you must have seen that the highest possible love should rule both worshiper and worshiped, and that this highest possible love necessitates closest possible union in some form of life, human and divine. I but utter your own inmost con-

viction when I add, that a religion consisting of supreme and mutual love between a perfect divine object and a perfectly responsive human subject can need no other credential than that which is given in its own uplifting and life-giving presence. On such qualifications for world-service I congratulate you. You hold in your hands and hearts the one solution to all earth's problems. To you it has been given to know of the divine origin, the divine possibilities, the divine destination of this living mystery in human form. You know the path of deliverance from evil, and who it is that opened it. You possess ideals of human perfection fairer, higher, broader than any of which ethnic sages have ever dreamed. You know of a life which even in its earthly stages is full of righteousness and peace, of love and good fruits. Publish it to the weary world. Exemplify it in church, and court, and hospital, in schoolhouse and in home. Count it the *prima philosophia,* the highest of all sciences, the finest of all fine arts. Let it be the one knowledge in which you glory, the one knowledge by which you seek to bring yourselves and all selves unto glory everlasting.

Apostles of human perfection, apostles of the perfect religion, why should you not enlighten, why should you not emancipate the most distant continents? One sage of Asia, wise with a lesser wisdom, enlightened with a lesser light, has given ideals to millions. Ye are sages also—more than a hundred strong. This day I commission you, in Christ's name I command you: Be ye in truth, as he himself has styled you, the light of the world.

And now unto the perfect Teacher of this perfect Way be honor, and glory, and dominion, world without end. Amen.

Note.—The World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, in 1893, was in a remarkable measure the realization of the foregoing dream. (See the official "History of the Parliament," edited by Dr. Barrows, vol. I, pp. 9, 10). The dreamer had little thought of ever seeing such a realization attempted. He simply gave his dream one summer day as a baccalaureate address before the graduating class of his University, and left it like the poet's "arrow shot in air." Before he was aware the discourse had been printed in five large English editions in the United States, Canada, and India; had been translated into Spanish and issued in the City of Mexico; translated into Chinese and published in Shanghai; translated into Japanese and published in Yokohama. Later, a gentleman in Calcutta wrote to an entire stranger in America proposing to aid in raising a fund for the free distribution in India of one hundred thousand copies. Seven years

after the first edition appeared, came the famous Parliament of Religions. The joyous man who brought the final speaker into possession of the credentials of the perfect religion, was "Pastor Hedstrom," the happy Swede who for many years ministered in a floating Bethel at one of the docks in the harbor of New York.

III. ANCIENT CONCEPTIONS OF THE UNIVERSE

Abbreviations for Reference

AOT = "Astronomy in the Old Testament." By G. Schiaparelli.
CHR = "The Cradle of the Human Race." By W. F. Warren.
DC = "The Dawn of Civilization." By G. Maspero.
EC = "The Earliest Cosmologies." By W. F. Warren.
MP = "The Myths of Plato." By J. A. Stewart.
PS = "Planetary Systems from Thales to Kepler." By J. L. E. Dreyer.

1. Draw, or describe, the Babylonian universe as pictured by Maspero, DC, p. 542.

2. Wherein does it differ from the Egyptian universe as pictured by the same author in DC., p. 17?

3. Wherein does it differ from the universe represented in the frontispiece of the present volume, or in EC., pp. 33-40?

4. Draw, or describe, the Hebrew universe as pictured by Schiaparelli in AOT, p. 38 (reproduced in EC, p. 27).

5. On what grounds is this rejected in EC, pp. 29-32?

6. Draw, or describe, the Homeric universe as represented by Dreyer in PS, pp. 6f., and as represented in EC, pp. 70-78; 157-191.

7. Wherein agree, and wherein differ, the cosmologies of Plato and Aristotle? See PS, MP, etc.

8. Who long before the time of Columbus taught that the earth is a sphere? See Dreyer, PS, pp. 20, 38, 39, 53, 55, 117, 158, 172, 192, 220, 223, 225, 227, 229, 232, 234, 242, 243, 249, 250.

9. By what arguments did Cosmas Indicopleustes attempt to disprove the sphericity of the earth? See his Christian Topography, translated by J. W. McCrindle.

10. Among what peoples do we find the heavens and hells conceived of as numbering seven or more? See EC, passim.

11. What is said of the Pillar, or Pillars, of Atlas in CHR, pp. 350-358?

12. How many times, and for what purpose, is Mohammed said to have journeyed from the sixth to the seventh heaven? EC, pp. 55ff.

13. Describe the tenants and conditions of life in the sixth heaven of the Buddhists? See EC, p. 141.

14. Where may be found further investigations into the cosmological ideas of the ancients?

Answer: In the following publications among others, to wit:

E. Walter Maunder, of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, "The Astronomy of the Bible," 1908.———Same author, "The Bible and Astronomy. The Annual Address Before the Victoria Institute, 1908.———Same author, Article in the Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomic Society, vol. lxiv, pp. 488-507.———E. W. and A. S. D. Maunder, "The Oldest Astronomy," Three Papers. Journal of the British Astronomical Association, vol. viii, p. 373; vol. ix, p. 317; vol. xiv, p. 241.———"Ages of the World," in Hastings's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (1908), vol. i, pp. 183-210———B. G. Tilak, "Orion: Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas," 2d ed., 1903.———Same author, "The Arctic Home in the Vedas, 1903, pp. 245ff, 454ff.———J. R. Harris, "The Cult of the Heavenly Twins," 1906.———R. Brown, "Researches into the Origin of the Primitive Constellations of the Greeks, Phœnicians, and Babylonians," 1900. Two vols.———W. W. Bryant, "A History of Astronomy," 1907.———E. M. Plunket, "Ancient Calendars and Constellations."———R. Beazley, "Dawn of Modern Geography," 1897.———Flammarion, "Astronomical Myths."———R. A. Proctor, "Light Science for Leisure Hours."———Spence Hardy, "Legends and Theories of the Buddhists."———Lockyer, "The Dawn of Astronomy."———W. H. Tillinghast, "Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients," in "Winsor's History of America," vol. i.———W. F. Warren, "Why More than One Hole through the Moon?" in The Classical Review for 1911 (refers to a passage in Plutarch).

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